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THE JOHNS HOPKINS STUDIES IN ROMANCE LITERATURES
AND LANGUAGES

EXTRA VOLUME Nº III

LOUIS HUE GIRARDIN
AND
NICHOLAS GOUIN DUFIEF

AND THEIR RELATIONS WITH THOMAS JEFFERSON

AN UNKNOWN EPISODE
OF THE FRENCH EMIGRATION IN AMERICA

BY

EDITH PHILIPS
Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, Goucher College

THE JOHNS HOPKINS PRESS — BALTIMORE, MARYLAND
LES PRESSES UNIVERSITAIRES DE FRANCE, PARIS
1926

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LOUIS HUE GIRARDIN
AND NICHOLAS GOUIN DUFIEF

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BY THE SAME AUTHOR

Les Réfugiés Bonapartistes en Amérique, 1815-1830, Paris, 1923.

IN PREPARATION ;

Les Quakers dans la littérature française.

Anthologie des poètes français, de Baudelaire à nos jours.

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INTRODUCTION

The two sketches which form this study should be considered as a publication of documents rather than a well defined chapter in the history of emigration. In spite of the work which has been done in recent years on French refugees in the United States between 1789 and 1830, and of which the most recent is the book of M. F. Baldensperger : *Le mouvement des idées dans l'émigration française* (1789-1815). Paris, 2 vols. 1925, there still remains much to be found and the archives have not yet given up all their secrets from which we can trace fully the part played by these refugees in the formation, especially the intellectual formation of the new country.

We have already shown in a previous study, *Les réfugiés bonapartistes en Amérique*, (1815-1830) Paris, 1923, that as a group the refugees exerted little direct influence on the destinies of the country in which they were seeking refuge. It could hardly be otherwise, for most of them tried to form their own national groups and waited without mingling in the life of their temporary country for the opportunity to return to France. In Boston, New York and Philadelphia there were

French 3 libr 916 Pamph

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such groups which refused to let themselves become assimilated.

There were exceptions, however. Some refugees were poor and were forced to earn a living. Others from a spirit of adventure did not hesitate to plunge into the life around them. They learned English, married, founded homes, and really settled in the United States. It is among these more completely assimilated refugees that we must look to find what intellectual contributions were made to America by the exiled French. To find traces of them all would be a great task of research in local records and newspapers of the time. Some have been found, and we are adding here two more names to the list of those already known (1).

Both of the subjects of this study, although they came from royalist environment, belong to the group of refugees whose admiration for the author of the Declaration of Independence reached the point of being a cult. In the enormous mass of documents which are known under the name of Jefferson papers there are great numbers of letters written by the refugees of 1789. The fact that Jefferson had represented the United States in Paris and that his enemies accused him of undue admiration for the French seemed to designate him as the natural protector of all those who bore a French name. Requests for aid fairly flooded him at Monticello, and to most of them Jefferson did not reply or gave little encouragement. In some instances however, he entered into a regular correspon-

(1) Neither M. Baldensperger nor M. Bernard Faÿ in his recent work : *L'Esprit révolutionnaire en France et aux États-Unis à la fin du* XVIII^e *siècle*, Paris, 1925, have mentioned them.

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dence, and some of the refugees, for example Volney and Dupont de Nemours, became his very dear friends. To a somewhat less degree he gave of his friendship to Louis Hue Girardin and to Dufief, whose relations with him are followed in these sketches.

Girardin and Dufief merit our attention for more reasons than their acquaintance with Jefferson. Their lives represent the destiny experienced by many other refugees, and those the most honorable among them those who did the most by their useful lives to overcome the prejudices which in many cases existed against them as a class. Both of them were teachers, but of a very superior type to those vagabonds who went about earning a precarious living, combining the teaching of dancing and French, and sometimes drawing, earning for their country a reputation of lacking serious purpose. Girardin and Dufief were *philosophes* who undoubtedly contributed to the extension in this country of the ideas of the Encyclopedists. Both of them were serious and had a real professional interest in their work. Although he was less versatile than Girardin, Dufief seems to have had more originality. The book which he published on the teaching of French, strange as it may seem to us today, was far in advance of its time. If Dufief was not the inventor of the so-called direct method of teaching modern languages, he was quite obviously one of the precursors of our modern method.

We do not claim for our refugees any universal or unusually durable personal influence, but they did attain distinction in their communities, and Philadelphia, Richmond and Baltimore in their day were not negligible communities. They also had a definite and direct purpose to bring to those cities in which they chanced to be, the best of culture as they knew it.

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Is it not by just such active intelligences as theirs that ideas are propagated and circulated? We must often look to them to find the explanation of apparent influences which cannot otherwise be definitely traced.

Baltimore, 1926.

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I

LOUIS HUE GIRARDIN

The names and experiences of many of the refugees whom the French Revolution drove to America are well known either because they represented great families, or because they had been prominent in public life. But there were many others of no fame nor notoriety who by lives of quiet usefulness brought more to the life of the new country than those whose names suggest immediately a career of brillance. One of these modest citizens was Louis Hue Girardin. His life is typical of many, and is worthy of examination, for it proves that the refugees of the Revolution contributed more to the early cultural life of America than we have perhaps imagined. A quiet man, of scholarly tastes, whom only the necessity of earning a living drove from his library, with no great role in the troubled political life of the time, he was the victim of his association with more active public men, and was forced with the others to flee from France. In America he identified himself with his new country and considered himself a true American, endeavoring as a teacher to keep alive the interest in learning which he had brought with him, but always from the point of view of an American, not as an outsider. His life is reflected to us through a rather extensive correspondence with Jefferson, who seems to have held him in high esteem, and also through an account of his life

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given shortly after his death in Baltimore by his friend J. T. Ducatel (1). It was a life of constant disappointment, and of struggles against various misfortunes, but he seems to have had an inexhaustible capacity for hoping and expecting better things in the near future.

Girardin was an assumed name, taken because he feared pursuit by his enemies. Louis François Picot, to give him his real name, was born in 1771 near Dreux in Normandy. He was educated at the Lycée of Rouen, and was always fond of books and very studious. According to Ducatel, who probably learnedit from Girardin himself, he was considered by his teachers the best Latin scholar and poet in the class. After finishing his studies at the Lycée he went to Paris on the invitation of M. Philippon de la Madeleine, and through his patronage he became acquainted with the literary personages of the day. Among those who took an interest in the young writer were Bernardin de St. Pierre and l'Abbé Barthélemy, to the former of whom he dedicated his first literary effort, a poem published by Didot together with a translation in verse of Goldsmith's *Deserted Village*. He also made some translations from the writings of the Italian Casti, the author of *Animali Parlanti*. M. de la Madeleine had promised to obtain for Picot the situation of librarian to the king, and Bernardin de St Pierre was urging him to devote his life to historical research, not a very strong proof of his original poetical ability, when the Revolution interrupted all work which depended on patronage and favor.

M. Picot then returned to Rouen, where he defended the theory of constitutional monarchy in the editorial columns of the *Journal de la Seine Inférieure*. The opinions expressed in these articles brought him before a Revolutionary tribunal, and he was forced to leave

(1) *Transactions of the Maryland Academy of Science and Literature*, v. I, Biographical notice of L. H. Girardin LL. D. ; 1st President of the Society by J. T. Ducatel.

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Rouen and retire to his native village of Dreux. In this period of retirement he wrote a tragedy in verse, *Léonidas*. But the times called for action, and even a scholarly poet could not long remain inactive. His opinions seem to have grown more strongly Royalist, and he became known as a Girondist, then enlisted under the Comte de Puisaye, and fought with the Chouans until the failure of the movement. After this adventure, even Dreux was not a sufficient refuge, and young Picot fled to Brest and thence to America, where he landed at Hampton Roads, in company with the Marquis de Cairon. A Frenchman, who owned a small farm in Maryland, received them both, and the young student with his titled friend began life in America as farm laborers. Picot had rather vague ideas about American customs, and the fear that his enemies in France could legally pursue him in this country led him to take the name of Louis Hue Girardin.

The farm work was naturally a very temporary occupation for a man of his education and tastes, especially as he had a good knowledge of English. He was advised to open a school in the neighborhood of his first home, but it does not appear that this plan was ever carried out, for Ducatel goes on to say that his exemplary conduct very soon attracted attention, that Archbishop Carroll became interested in him and that through the prelate's influence Girardin was invited to teach at Georgetown College in the District of Columbia (1). Ducatel affirms that Carroll urged him to take orders and seems to think that this statement needs to be given added weight, for he assures us that he himself saw the letter with reference to the priesthood, which Girardin prized very highly. Whatever consideration he may have had for the letter as a souvenir, the advice was not

(1) The librarian of Georgetown University has very kindly verified for us the fact that Girardin was teaching there in 1793. As to the length of his service we have been able to find no data.

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followed, and after a period of teaching in Georgetown, Girardin went to Virginia to take a professorship in the College of William and Mary. He then began to desire to make a place for himself in the literary world. If all of his enterprises had been brought to completion, we should have several volumes of the works of Louis Hue Girardin. But his literary work seems to consist for the most part of beginnings. He commenced, together with a German artist, named Bossler, a work entitled *Amœnitates Graphicae*, written in both French and English. The noble purpose of the work was to offer instruction in French by the parallel use of the languages, and « to form an instructive and amusing collection of views and drawings of animals, plants, minerals, antiquities, costumes and other interesting objects to inspire young people of both sexes with a taste for useful and agreable knowledge ; to facilitate them in the study of it and to enable them to become acquainted with the language in which the descriptions and explanations are made. » The prospectus, from which this is quoted, setting forth the high intentions of the work, was issued September 12, 1804. The words might have been written to advertise our twentieth century *Book of Knowledge* for children, but the one of a hundred years ago was not completed, owing to some disappointment regarding the engraver.

During the next year Girardin began another piece of work which was never completed, a translation of the *Revolutionary Annals of France*, from the manuscript of his friend, M. Jean Henri de Croiseuil, another refugee. It is a pity that this work is lost to us ; it would be interesting to see how the opinions of royalist refugees might have been modified by ten years of life in America. Another effort, apparently finished but doomed to oblivion, was a Latin poem, *De Monomachia*.

Just how and when Girardin became acquainted with Jefferson we do not know, but such an acquaintance was easily made, for Jefferson was very approachable and readily received any French refugee, especially if he had

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scientific and literary tastes (1). The first letter to Jefferson is from the William and Mary period. It indicates an acquaintance already begun, but on quite formal terms. It seems to show that the foundation of their acquaintance, as also its development reflected in succeeding letters, was in an exchange of books and of opinions in regard to them. Girardin must have been a lonely man; and he must have felt that a correspondence with Jefferson offered an outlet to his intellectual isolation, for although he always appears to fear that he is intruding on the President's time, he writes at length of his literary plans and aspirations, and also of many personal matters. However, he kept his resolution not to disturb Jefferson during the busiest years of his life. At least we have no letters between 1806 and 1815.

GIRARDIN TO JEFFERSON

Williamsburg, le 6 juillet 1806.

Monsieur le Président,

J'ai l'honneur de vous faire passer deux excellentes brochures de Mengotte, qui m'ont été confiées par M. Reibelt (2). Je vous remercie mille fois de la manière

(1) The letters which follow are to be found for the most part in the collection of Jefferson papers at the Library of Congress. A few are preserved by the Massachusetts Historical Society. With two or three exceptions they have never been reprinted. Unless otherwise indicated, the correspondence is from the Library of Congress.

(2) Reibelt was a well known French bookseller in Richmond, from whom Jefferson was in the habit of ordering books.

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obligeante dont vous avez bien voulu vous en dessaisir en ma faveur, et surtout je vous prie d'accepter les excuses que je vous dois pour les avoir gardées si longtemps.

J'avais commencé à traduire en anglais une de ces brochures, *Il Colbertismo* et mon intention était de livrer ma traduction à la presse. M. Ritchie, à qui j'avais parlé de l'imprimer, m'a donné à entendre que cet ouvrage ne pourrait guère jouir ici d'un succès étendu. J'ai donc abandonné ce travail que je poursuivais avec ardeur.

Je crains bien, Monsieur le Président, d'abuser de vos précieux moments. Le premier magistrat d'une nation, sans cesse occupé de la prospérité publique, et entouré de mille soins importants est à mes yeux trop respectable et trop nécessaire au bonheur de tous pour que j'ose l'entretenir longtemps de mes chétives entreprises, et je me contenterai désormais de cultiver les lettres et les sciences utiles dans le silence et la retraite. Vous le savez, cette culture a ses douceurs, et l'homme modeste qui s'instruit, n'est pas sans jouissances.

Agréez, Monsieur le Président, l'hommage de mon profond respect, et veuillez me croire avec les sentiments les plus vrais, votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur.

L. H. Girardin.

P. S. Vous me pardonnerez, je vous prie, la liberté que j'ai prise de vous écrire dans une langue qui vous est si bien connue.

Girardin left William and Mary College to become joint proprietor and sole editor of the *Richmond Enquirer.* Ducatel reports that during this period the *Enquirer* had a reputation for truth, decency and sound principles. It is difficult to judge whether this opinion was really general at the time, or whether Girardin had spoken of it thus to his friend Ducatel. Certainly Girardin had high ideals for any work to which he put his hand, and would

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have wished to have such a reputation. In December 1811 there occurred at Richmond a calamity which affected all the rest of his life : the loss of his wife and only son in a theater fire. This misfortune crushed his ambition and ruined his health. He went back to teaching in an academy at Staunton and tried to fill his life with routine work which was really not congenial to him.

For several years the *Richmond Enquirer* published a series of essays, called the *Old Bachelor* and modelled after the *Spectator*, edited and written for the most part by Mr Wirt. In 1814 for the eighth and twelfth numbers of this publication Girardin wrote two letters on education, which he signed Tim Lovetruth. Wirt, in presenting the first letter to the public, says, « As I read his letter I felt in the style of his thinking the percussion of genius and virtue and I am convinced that literature and science stand at their back. Ex pede Herculem. He should find himself bound to come forth for the good of our common country (1) » Tim Lovetruth claims to be a Quaker and uses the form « thou » throughout his letters. He introduces himself by praising an article by Wirt, and denounces the « moral stagnation » of the country. The letter proceeds to expound his views on education by using the example of a model family. Tim Lovetruth feels unbounded grief at the loss of his friend Charles Melmoth, the wise father of three sons and a daughter. The oldest son, Edward, has gone to Europe « in quest of that multifarious and important knowledge upon the acquirement of which every hope of usefulness and eminence in the medical career must rest. » The father is made to say, « Could I chain down my able boy to an inglorious obscurity ? Could I doom him to intellectual barrenness and insignificance ? Where in his native state could his thirst for knowledge be gratified ?... In population Virginia has rapidly progressed, but its moral course seems retrograde. » Girardin's experience in

(1) Old Bachelor VI, p. 96.

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the schools and colleges of Virginia had evidently not inspired in him any great confidence in the opportunities the state was offering to her youth. The gloom of the father is further developed by a supposed letter from the boy in Paris. He gives an enthusiastic account of the intellectual outlook and opportunities in Paris, but nevertheless regrets his home. Girardin's criticism of educational institutions is somewhat softened by his declared admiration for our political institutions. Young Edward Melmoth writes from Paris, « The government of this country is calculated to dazzle, not to attach. I shall return confirmed in republican principles (1) » As this had been written in the early part of 1814, it naturally refers to the Napoleonic regime, but our royalist refugee makes no reference to regrets that the Bourbons are not the rulers of France, — whether from policy, becanse he was a resident in the republican United States, or from a true conversion to republican theories, it is impossible to say. In the twelfth number of the « Old Bachelor » there is another letter by Tim Lovetruth, this time a straightforward appeal, without the fiction of imaginary friends, for a real state institution of learning for this country.

During the Staunton period the correspondence with Jefferson was renewed. A letter appears dated March 18, 1814, from Jefferson to Girardin. It has already been published in the Memorial Edition of Jefferson's works, and as it is a rather arid discussion of mathematics, we will not reprint it here. Its interest lies only in showing the breadth of knowledge common to Jefferson and Girardin, who seemed equally at home in historical research, in scientific literature, in the Greek and Latin classics as well as in pure mathematics. Jefferson in this letter enters into a long and detailed discussion of plain and spherical trigonometry, with advice as to texts, au thorities and methods of teaching adapted to Girardin's pupils.

(1) Old Bachelor, VI, p. 147.

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Girardin had now begun to work on his *Continuation of Burk's History of Virginia*, one of the few undertakings which he really was able to complete, although never to revise to his satisfaction. On it he expended much effort and exacting study. His acquaintance with Jefferson was of great value to him in preparing this work, for he was not only furnished with records and documents but helped by the friendly advice and assistance of one who had lived through most of the events discussed in the history, and who had had a hand in shaping their course. The letter of Jan. 15, 1815 shows the spirit in which Jefferson offered material and advice, and the letter of March 12 shows even more plainly the care with which he read the manuscript of the historian, and tried to secure accuracy of detail. The case of the bill of attainder against Josiah Philips is discussed at length in the *History*, (p. 305). It occurred May 4, 1778, and derived its importance both from the notoriety of the case and from the precedent involved (1). In a third letter concerning the *History*, Jefferson refers modestly to Girardin's account of his own part in the revolutionary history of Virginia.

JEFFERSON TO GIRARDIN

Jan. 15, 1815.

I have no documents respecting Clarke's expedition except the letters of which you are in possession, one

(1) Betwen the settlement of this case and the writing of Girardin's work, bills of attainder had been made illegal by the Constitution of the United States. It is interesting to note that Jefferson defends them in 1815.

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of which I believe gives some account of it, nor do I possess Imlay's history of Kentucky.

Of M. Wythe's early history I scarcely know anything except that he was self-taught and perhaps this might not have been as to the Latin language. Dr. Smith was his bosom friend and to me as a father. To his enlightened and affectionate guidance of my studies while at college I am indebted for everything. He was professor of Mathematics at W. et M. and for some time was in the philosophical chair. He first introduced into both schools rational and elevated courses of study and from an extraordinary conjunction of eloquence and logic was enabled to communicate them to the students with great effect. He procured for me the patronage of Mr. Wythe, and both of them the attentions of Gov. Fauquier, the ablest man who ever filled the chair of government here. They were inseparable friends and at their frequent dinners with the governor, after his family had returned to England he admitted me always to make it a partie quarrée. At these dinners I have heard more good sense, more rational and philosophical conversations than in all my life besides. They were truly Attic societies. The governor was musical also, and a good performer, and associated me with two or three amateurs at his weekly concerts. He merits honorable mention in your history if any proper occasion offers. So also does Dabney Carr, father of Peter Carr, mover of the proposition of March, 1773 for a committee of Correspondence, the first fruit of which was the calling of the American Congress. I return to you two pamphlets with thanks and salute you with esteem and respect.

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JEFFERSON TO GIRARDIN

March. 12, 1815.

I return the three cahiers which I have perused, with the usual satisfaction. You will find a few pencilled notes —merely verbal.

But in one place I have taken a greater liberty than I ever took before or ever indeed had occasion to take. It is the case of Josiah Philips which I find strangely represented by Judge Tucker and Mr. Edmund Randolph and very negligently vindicated by Mr. Henry. That case is personally known to me because I was of the Legislature at the time; was one of those consulted by Mr. Henry and had my share in the passage of the Bill. I never before saw the observations of those gentlemen which you quote on this case and will now therefore briefly make some strictures on them.

Judge Tucker instead of a definition of the functions of a bill of attainder has given a diatribe against their abuse. The occasion and proper office of a bill of attainder is this: when a person charged with a crime withdraws from justice or resists it by force, either in his own or a foreign country, no other means of bringing him to trial or punishment being practicable, a special act is passed by the Legislature adapted to this particular case. This prescribes to him a sufficient term to appear and submit to trial by his peers, declares that his refusal to appear shall be taken as a confession of guilt, as in the ordinary case of an offender at the bar refusing to plead, and pronounces the sentence which would have been rendered on his confession or conviction in a court of law. No doubt that these acts of attainder have been abused in England as instruments of vengeance by a successful over a de-

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feated party, but what institution is insusceptible of abuse in wicked hands ?

Again this Judge says « the court refused to pass sentence of execution pursuant to the directions of the Act. » The court could not refuse this because it never was proposed to them, and my authority for this assertion shall be presently given.

For the perversion of a fact so intimately known to himself, Mr. Randolph can be excused only by our indulgence for orators who, pressed by a powerful adversary, lose sight in the ardor of the conflict of the rigorous accuracies of fact and permit their imaginations to dissolve and color them to the views of the moment. He was Attorney General at the time and told me himself, the first time I saw him after the trial of Philips, that when taken and delivered up to justice he had thought it best to make no use of the act of attainder and to take no measure under it ; that he had indicted him at the common law either for murder or robbery (I forget which) that he was tried on this indictment in the ordinary way, found guilty by the jury, sentenced and executed under the common law, a course which everyone approved, because the first object of the act of attainder was to bring him to a fair trial. Whether Mr. Randolph was right in his information to me, or, when, in the debate with Mr. Henry he represents this atrocious offender as sentenced and executed under the act of attainder, let the record of the case decide.

« Without being confronted with his accusers and witnesses, without the privilege of calling for evidence in his behalf, he was sentenced to death and afterwards actually executed ». I appeal to the Universe to produce one single instance from the first establishment of government to the present day where, in a trial at bar, a criminal has been refused confrontation with his accusers and witnesses or denied the privilege of calling for evidence in his behalf. Had it been done in this case, I would have asked the Attorney General why he proposed or

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permitted it, but without having seen the record, I will venture on the character of our courts to deny that it was done. But if Mr. Randolph meant only that Philips had not these advantages on the passage of the bill of attainder, how idle to charge the Legislature with omitting to confront the culprit with his witnesses when he was standing out in arms and in defiance of their authority and their sentence was to take effect only on his refusal to come in and be confronted. We must either, therefore, consider this as a mere hyperbolism of imagination in the heat of debate or, what I would rather believe, a defective statement by the reporter of Mr. Randolph's argument .I suspect this fact the rather because this point in the charge of Mr. Randolph is equally omitted in the defense of Mr. Henry. This gentleman must have known that Philips was tried and executed under the common law, and yet, according to this report, he rests his defense on a justification of the attainder only, but all who knew Mr. Henry know that when at ease in arguing he was sometimes careless, not giving himself the trouble of ransacking either his memory or imagination for all the topics of his subject, nor his audience that of hearing them. No man on earth knew better when he had said enough for his hearers.

Mr. Randolph charges us with having read the bill three times in the same day. I do not remember the facts, nor whether this was enforced on us by the urgency of the ravages of Philips, or of the time at which the bill was introduced. I have some idea it was at or near the close of the Session. The journals which I have marked will ascertain this fact.

After these particular strictures, I will proceed to propose : 1. That the word « substantially », p. 92, line 6, be changed for « which has not been charged with » (subjoining a note of reference to Tucker's *Blackstone*, Appendix 292, Debates of Virginia Convention). 2. That the whole of the quotations from Tucker, Randolph and Henry be struck out, and instead of the text beginning,

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page 92, line 12 with the words « bill of attainder », to the words, » so often merited », page 95, line 4, be inserted the following :

« This was passed on the following occasion : A certain Josiah Philips, laborer of the Parish of Lynhaven, in the County of Princess Anne, a man of daring and ferocious disposition, associating with other individuals of a similar caste, spread terror and desolation through the lower country, committing murders, burning houses, wasting farms, and perpetrating other enormities at the bare mention of which humanity shudders. Every effort to apprehend him had proved abortive. Strong in the number of his ruffian associates, and where force would have failed, resorting to stratagem and ambush, striking the deadly blow or applying the fatal torch at the midnight hour, and in those places which their insulated situation left almost unprotected, he retired with impunity to his secret haunts, reeking with blood and loaded with plunder (so far the text of Mr. Girardin preserved). The inhabitants of the counties which were the theater of his crimes never secure a moment by day or by night in their fields or in their beds, sent representatives of their distresses to the Governor, claiming the public protection. He consulted with some members of the Legislature then sitting, on the best method of proceeding against this atrocious offender, too powerful to be arrested by the sheriff and his posse comitatus, yet it was not doubted but an armed force might be sent to hunt and destroy him and his accomplices in their morasses and fastnesses wherever found. But the proceeding concluded to be most consonant with the forms and principles of our government was that the Legislature should pass an act giving him a reasonable but limited day to surrender himself to justice and to submit to a trial by his peers according to the laws of the land, to consider a refusal as a confession of guilt, and divesting him as an outlaw of the character of citizen, to pass on him the sentence prescribed by the law, and the public officer being defied, to make everyone his deputy, and especially those whose safety hourly depended on his destruction. The case was laid before the Legislature, proofs were ample, his outrages as notorious as those of the public enemy, and well known to the members of both Houses from those counties, no one pretended then that the perpetrator of crimes who could success-

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fully resist the officers of justice should be protected in the continuation of them by the privilege of his citizenship, and that baffling ordinary process nothing extraordinary could be rightfully adopted to protect the citizens against him. No one doubted that society had a right to erase from the roll of its members anyone who rendered his own existence inconsistent with theirs, to withdraw from him the protection of their laws and to remove him from among them by exile or even by death, if necessary. An enemy in lawful war putting, himself, to death, in cold blood the prisoner he has taken, authorizes retaliation which would be inflicted with peculiar justice on the individual guilty of the deed were it to happen that he should be taken ; and could the murders and the robberies of a pirate or outlaw entitle him to more tenderness ? They passed a law, therefore, and without opposition. He did not come in before the day prescribed, continued his lawless outrages, was afterwards taken in arms but delivered over to the ordinary justice of the county. The Attorney General for the Commonwealth, the immediate agent of the Government, waiving all appeal to the act of attainder, indicted him at the common law as a murderer and robber. He was too arraigned in that indictment in the usual form before a jury of his vicinage, and no use whatever made of the act of attainder in any part of the proceedings. He pleaded that he was a British subject authorized to bear arms by a commission from L. Dunmore ; that he was therefore a mere prisoner of war under the protection of the Law of Nations. The court being of opinion that a commission from an enemy could not protect a citizen in deeds of murder and robbery, overruled his plea and he was found guilty by his jury, sentenced by the court, executed by the ordinary officer of justice, and all according to the forms and rules of the common law ».

I recommend an examination of the records for ascertaining the facts of this case, for although my memory assures me of the leading ones, I am not so certain in my recollection of the details. I am not sure of the character of the particular crimes committed by Philips, or charged in his indictment ; whether his plea of an alien enemy was formally put in and overruled ; or what were the specific provisions of the act

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of attainder, the urgency which caused it to be read three times in one day, if the fact were so, etc.

JEFFERSON TO GIRARDIN

March 27, 1815.

I return your fourteenth chapter with only two or three unimportant alterations, and with a note suggested of doubtful admissibility. I believe it would be acceptable to the reader of every nation except England, and I do not suppose that even without it your book will be a popular one there. However, you will decide for yourself.

As to what is to be said of myself, I of course am not the judge ; but my sincere wish is that the faithful historian, like the able surgeon, would consider me in his hands while living as a dead subject, that the same judgment may now be expressed which will be rendered hereafter, so far as my small agency in human affairs may attract future notice, and I would of choice now stand as at the bar of posterity. *Cum semel occideris et de te ultima Minos fecerit arbitria.* The only exact testimony of a man is his actions, leaving the reader to pronounce on them his own judgment. In anticipating this, too little is safer than too much, and I sincerely assure you that you will please me most by a rigorous suppression of all friendly partialities. This candid expression of sentiment once delivered, passive silence becomes the future duty.

It is with real regret I inform you that the day of deliv-

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ery of the library is close at hand (1). A letter by last mail informs me that Mr. Milligan is ordered to come on the instant I am ready to deliver. I shall complete the arrangement of the books on Saturday ; then will remain only to paste on them their numbers, which will be begun on Sunday. Of this Mr. Milligan has notice, and may be expected every hour after Monday next. He will examine the books by the catalogue, and nail up the presses one by one, as he gets through with them ; but it is indispensable for me to have all the books in their places when we begin to number them, and it would be a great convenience for me to have all that you can do without now to put them in their places. Ancient History is numbered. Modern History comes next. The bearer carries a basket to receive what he can bring of those you are done with.

I salute you with friendship and respect.

In this history Girardin always speaks very admiringly of Jefferson, but with no undue extravagance of language. He refers to him quite impersonally as the author of the preamble to the constitution of Virginia, as the author of the Declaration of Independence, as working for justice and liberty in the revision of the Virginia code. He gives Jefferson much credit for effectively opposing the agitation toward a dictatorshisp during the Revolution, and cites as another example of his moderation and good sense, the generous attitude toward the British prisoners at Charlottesville in 1779. He says, « The liberality of Mr. Jefferson's principles impelled him to politeness and generosity towards his new neighbors. Jefferson wrote to General Philips, « The great cause which divides our countries is not to be decided by individual animosities. The harmony of private societies cannot weaken national efforts. To contribute by neighborly in-

(1) This refers to the sale of Jefferson's library to the United States. His library formed the nucleus of the present Library of Congress. For the relations of Jefferson and Milligan, see Chinard, *Jefferson et les idéologues.* Paris, Baltimore. 1925. Chap. III.

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tercourse and attention to make others happy, is the shortest and surest way of being happy ourselves. As these sentiments seem to have directed your conduct we should be as unwise as illiberal were we not to preserve the same temper of mind. » (1) This attitude of mind from a governor of a state towards his country's enemies betrays a generosity of feeling not often encountered. It is only in the appendix of his book that Girardin takes up in detail the troublous period of Jefferson's governorship, when his enemies made an effort to blame the public misfortunes upon him, and to impeach him. No evidence was offered against him, but Jefferson, feeling the lack of confidence, resigned. After his return as a member of the General Assembly he asked to meet the accusations, but a resolution was unanimously passed, approving all of Jefferson's actions.

The first edition of the *Continuation* was published with a preface dated Nov. 12, 1816. Girardin here speaks of the obstacles to his work, feeble health and a depressed mind, from which he never ceased to suffer after the terrible event of 1811 (2). In addition to expressing his gratitude to Jefferson for access to his library and private papers, he acknowledges indebtedness to John Marshall for many works, and likewise to William Munford. The work appears upon examination to be a carefully compiled history, abounding in documents and free from undefended statements. Jefferson himself considered that Girardin had made excellent use of the material confided to him, as indicated in the following letter to H. Lee which is quoted in Niles' Register for Nov. 25, 1826. Jefferson tells, evidently in answer to an inquiry, of his flight from Richmond and continues, « Without pursuing these minute details, I will here ask a favor of you to turn to Girardin's *History of Virginia*, where such

(1) Burk, *History of Virginia* : v. IV, p. 326 (vol. IV is the *Continuation* by Girardin).

(2) The death of his wife and son.

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of them as are worthy the notice of history are related in that scale of extension which its objects admit. That work was written at Milton, within two or three miles of Monticello, and at the request of the author, I communicated to him every paper I possessed on the subject, of which he made the use he saw fit in his work ». This letter is also quoted in the *Memorial Edition* of Jefferson's works, as to « Unknown ». Again in his autobiography, when he reaches the Revolutionary period, Jefferson says, « Being as it were, identified with the commonwealth itself, to write my own history, during the two years of my administration, would be to write the public history of that portion of the Revolution in this state. This has been done by others, and particularly by Mr. Girardin, who wrote his Continuation of Burk's History of Virginia while at Milton, in the neighborhood, had free access to all my papers while composing it and has given as faithful an account as I could myself. For this portion, therefor of my own life, I refer altogether to his history. » Again, he refers H. G. Spofford, who requested materials for writing his life, to the same source. He says of Girardin's work, « I can assure you of the truth of every fact he has drawn from these papers, and of the genuineness of such as he has taken the trouble to copy ». (1)

In the midst of historical research, and the heavy demands of teaching, which he always regarded as drudgery, the active mind of Girardin had time to find recreation in scientific reading. The list of books in the following letter is the first indication we have of his attention being directed to natural sciences, yet in his obituary notices he is referred to as « professor of botany » and it is more than possible that this interest in botany was the source of his friendship with Jefferson.

(1) Memorial Edition. *Writings of Thomas Jefferson* v. I, p. 74.

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GIRARDIN TO JEFFERSON

April 19, 1815.

I send to you, dear and respected sir, some books of Mr. Joseph Cabell, which Colonel Randolph tells me he would like to read. Perhaps they may also amuse some of your moments. I am sure Mr. Cabell will be pleased with my leaving them at Monticello. Colonel Randolph has promised to return them to Mr. Cabell where and when he may choose.

I wish you complete relief from your troublesome bibliography, and salute you with most affectionate respect.

The books are :

Le Journal de Physique	9 cahiers 4vo
Anatomie comparée de Cuvier	5 volumes 8vo
Théorie de la Terre, par Lamétherie ..	5 volumes 8vo
Wildenow, *Species Plantarum*	8 volumes 8vo
Chemical Nomenclature.....	1 volume 4vo
Helvetius, *Flora*	2 volumes 16
Colonel Randolph's, *Linné*	1 volume 8vo
Pestalozzi	1 volume 8vo boards
Desfontaines, *Tableau botanique*	1 volume 8vo.

I find upon trying the trunk that it will not contain all the books. I keep for another time Lamétherie, Desfontaines, Helvetius *Flora* and *Le Journal de Physique.*

Jefferson's well known interest in all things French subjected him to many importunate appeals from exiles and refugees, who were very numerous in America during the varying fortunes of opposing governments in France. After 1815 there were many Bonapartist sympathisers who sought refuge here. They considered themselves as representing moderate opinion in France, and Napo-

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leon after his defeat had become to them the champion of liberty, so that they felt an especial claim to Jefferson's sympathies. Simon Chaudron, whom Girardin introduces to Jefferson in his letter of February 20, 1819, was indeed in need of help. After the fall of Napoleon's government he had first sought refuge in Brussels, where he edited the *Nain Jaune*, a paper so openly Bonapartist that he was forced to leave the country. From Brussels he came to Philadelphia, where for four years, 1816-1819, he published *L'Abeille Américaine* (1). He had thought to find among the Bonapartist exiles and Americans sympathetic to them, a sufficient public to support his paper, but the refugees were very poor, and the Americans indifferent. In 1819 the journal failed, and poor Chaudron was left in the straits which he describes in his letter to Jefferson. He is careful not to ask for financial assistance, which was undoubtedly what he hoped to receive. Whether Jefferson helped him or not, he did manage to reach Aigleville, Alabama, and joined the struggling settlement of his fellow countrymen.

GIRARDIN TO JEFFERSON

Feb. 20, 1819.

Dear and respected sir,

M. Simon Chaudron, a gentleman probably better known to you by his talents than by his misfortunes but recommended by both to those who feel and think like you, has enclosed to me the letter which I now take the liberty to transmit to you. The following extract from

(1) Several volumes of this violently Bonapartist French paper are preserved by the Penna. Historical Society. I have referred to it and to the fortunes of its editor in my study of the Bonapartist Refugees, p. 80-137.

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his letter to me on the subject will point out to you a wish that his modesty and his fear to be deemed obtrusive have prevented him from explicitly expressing to yourself.

« J'ai besoin d'un mot de vous à M. Jefferson. Je vous envoye ouverte la lettre que je lui écris. Veuillez la postiller, s'il doit la lire ou la détruire si vous pensez qu'elle doit lui déplaire. Il ne faut pas troubler le repos d'un sage, mais il me semble qu'il suffirait qu'il me souhaitât le bonheur pour que je l'obtinsse.

On me réserve une petite place dans le comté ou je vais. Je suis à peu près sûr qu'elle m'est dévolue mais je croirais la mériter si je possédais la plus petite marque de bienveillance tracée de la main d'un grand homme ».

I think with Mr. Chaudron that your repose ought to be undisturbed yet I am sure that whenever you can pour into the wounds of the unfortunate a drop of that balm which flows from your heart and your pen, you are not disposed to complain of obtrusion, especially when your kindness is claimed for the deserving. I conceive but a few friendly lines from you to Mr. Chaudron would eminently conduce to his success. What the « petite place » to which he alludes is, I can only conjecture, but my sympathy and regard for him and my conciousness of your philanthropy induce me to solicit for him your benevolence. He is in Philadelphia, preparing for his intended removal.

I thank you for the loan of Botta (1) : I have commenced the task of translation but they wish me to print in the P. folio as specimens, translations of the speeches supposed by the historian to have been delivered in Congress for and against the declaration of independence. This must depend on your having it in your power to lend me

(1) Botta, Carlo Guiseppe Guglielmo : *History of the war of the Independence of the United States of America* ; translated by Geo. Alexander Otis, Phila, 1820.

(Reviewed in N. A. Rev. v. 13, 1821, p. 169).

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the volume which contains those speeches. I congratulate you and your beloved country on the Act respecting the establishment of an University. This is a great step toward a great and good work.

SIMON CHAUDRON TO JEFFERSON

7 février, 1819.

Monsieur,

Le temps et l'infortune ne m'ont point fait oublier la bienveillance dont vous m'avez honoré autrefois.

Obligé de quitter une grande cité où le luxe et les besoins assiègent les familles nombreuses, entouré de neuf enfants, tous nés dans les Etats-Unis, tous élevés dans les principes d'une république dont je leur apprends à vénérer les illustres fondateurs, je voùdrais les attacher à son heureux sol et les éloigner du foyer dangereux des spéculations commerciales. Pour cela je me dispose à me rendre à l'établissement français qui se forme sur les bords du Tombigbee ; j'y suis même appelé par les vœux de mes anciens compatriotes, mais inconnu de mes nouveaux hôtes américains, j'aurais besoin, grand besoin, d'un signe de votre souvenir et de votre approbation pour y être accueilli favorablement, car vous le savez, Monsieur, l'influence d'une grande et juste renommée féconde tout ce qu'elle protège et je ne pourrais rien montrer à mes concitoyens de plus honorable qu'un signe avantageux de votre opinion sur ma personne.

Pour mêler un peu d'intérêt public à l'instant particulier i. e. ma famille, je serais, Monsieur, bien reconnaissant si je pouvais obtenir de vous assez de graine de sézame pour en essayer la culture à Aigleville. Cet objet m'est particulièrement demandé par nos colons.

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Je me sers de l'entremise de mon respectable ami, M. Girardin pour ne vous laisser aucun doute sur la petite portion de droits que je peux avoir de votre généreuse bonté.

JEFFERSON TO GIRARDIN

March 16, 1819.

Dear sir,

I read last night your favor of the eleventh and now forward to you the volume of Botta in which are the speeches supposed to have been made in Congress on the question of independence but which never were made there. The selection of them as specimens of the work for the public is a most unlucky one giving fiction as a specimen of fact. It is exactly the part of the work which has given some discredit to it. Botta was induced into this error by the example of the Greek and Roman historians who composed speeches which they supposed adapted to the circumstances and put them in the mouths of persons named by themselves. Botta has chosen Lee and Dickinson for the fathers of his speeches. Hume's method is the correct one; he says on such occasions that it is argued so and so in the summing up of the probable reasonings on each side without ascribing them to particular persons by name. The great value of the rest of Botta's work fully compensates this small errror of judgment.

The following, although purely a business note, indicates again the high esteem in which Girardin was held by Jefferson, and a desire not to allow friendly relations to be disturbed by a failure to carry out tentative plans to patronise his school.

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JEFFERSON TO GIRARDIN

May 11, 1819.

Dear sir,

When it was determined in March last that the whole of the funds of the University which could be commanded during the present year should be applied to the preparation of accommodations for the professors and students, the friends of the institution thought it important that a classical school in the mean time should be established at Charlottesville for the preparation of subjects who might be ready to enter into the University as soon as it should be opened. I wrote therefore to Mr. Cooper to advise a Mr. Stack whom he had recommended as being qualified in the Greek and Latin languages to come on immediately and set up a school par interim on his private account. My grandson Eppes and his friend Baker came on to Monticello about the end of last March in expectation of finding this school ready for their reception, but no answer having been received from Mr. Stack, I concluded that he did not mean to come, and proposed that they should go to your school. With this view I wrote you my letter of March 31 that I might inform Mr. Eppes of your terms and let him decide for himself. I proceeded to Bedford and on my return after an absence of three weeks I found here Mr. Stack, who had arrived some days before and was awaiting my return and cooperation in the establishment to which I had invited him. These circumstances, with the superior conveniency of a school so near Monticello have reestablished in our two young pupils their original purpose of placing themselves in the school at Charlottesville, considered as a preliminary to the University, but indeed I consider yours also as a preliminary to that institution

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as well as the other academies of the state. They are the nurseries for the University and I have no doubt we shall receive, from yourself particularly, subjects well prepared for entering on the higher sciences which will be the peculiar objects of that institution. My young friends therefore declining to avail themselves of the kind information respecting your school, which they would have preferred to any but one placed here to their so much greater convenience, desire me to make their apology, as I do my own.

The letters which follow need little comment. First two letters of friendly bibliophiles, which display very wide interests, varying from drawing to gardening, with history and classical literature by the way. Busy men of that day did not seem to feel it necessary to seek light literature as a means of recreation.

GIRARDIN TO JEFFERSON (1)

Staunton, June 6th, 1819.

Dear and respected sir,

Indisposition, resulting from the fatigue of my late journey to Richmond, has prevented me from sending to you sooner the little work of J. B. Descamps *sur l'utilité des écoles gratuites de dessein*. I now forward it together with a table générale of the matters contained in 16 volumes of what the collector has been pleased to style *Discours philosophiques*. If the contents of any of those volumes should appear to you likely to amuse

(1) Massachusetts Historical Society.

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your leisure hours, it will afford me great satisfaction to transmit the same to you.

A few ms. marginal notes etc. by that collector, Mr. de Gresset a member of the former Parliament of Normandy, evince observation and taste in that gentleman, but strange to tell, he was ignorant of spelling as the same notes, etc. shew ; in some instances ludicrously enough. You know that in the middle ages the nobles prided themselves upon their ignorance of letters, etc, war alone they judged worthy of their high destinies ; in many of their descendents, you have, no doubt, observed the same reality or affectation of ignorance, without the same chivalric spirit.

I heard you mention I believe, a catalogue de librairie where the best editions of the greek and latin classics, in different countries, and for several years past, are indicated As I mean to appropriate every year what little money I can spare to the formation of a classical library, I will be particularly thankful for the loan of that catalogue, if not too bulky for transmission by mail. Else, the next time I shall have the pleasure to call at Monticello, I will beg permission to take a memorandum of the best editions in your fine and valuable collection. Ruperti's *Juvenal*, I am particularly impatient to possess. My pocket edition of that poet is the edition printed by Blaen 1650 *cum notis Farnabi*.

I believe that I formerly mentioned to you my having here the natural history collected and published by Sonini, in 12 vols 8vo. The botanical part is to me highly valuable and interesting. Sonini has, of course, borrowed from the most eminent writers on the various subjects of natural history, such as Buffon, Lacepède, Latreille etc., etc., Should you, at any time, be inclined to cast a glance, at any of those volumes, I can easily and quickly transmit the same.

I do not know whether you cause any seed to be collected (of the scotch broom). If you do, I beg you will excuse my request of favoring me with about a pint or a

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quart of it as I have some hills on my little farm, which cannot be cultivated to advantage, and would be greatly embellished by this easy and cheap plantation.

Hoping that you, and your amiable family continue in the enjoyment of perfect health, I remain.

JEFFERSON TO GIRARDIN

Monticello, June 22, 1819 (1).

Your favor of June 6 came safely to hand with the volume containing the Discourse of Deschamps on the utilities of drawing, which I have read with great pleasure, and now return. I found in the same volume one or two other pieces of real merit, particularly the letter of Guin.. ne to....the declaimer Chateaubriand, which is one of the finest pieces of irony and polite persiflage I have ever met with. I thank you for the offer of the other volumes and of those of Sonini, which I have not now time to avail myself of, indeed I shall leave Monticello for my other home in Bedford about the first of July and shall probably continue there three months. The broom seed is just now ripening and I will take care to have some saved for you. The catalogue of books which I mentioned to you was the Manuel du libraire et de l'Amateur des livres par Brunet, 4v. 8vo. a book which by the references to it seems for modern editions to take the place of Debuse for ancient ones. But I was misunderstood when supposed to say that I was in possession of it. I had recently written for it, and expect it before winter, when it will be at your service. I salute you with friendly respect and esteem.

(1) Massachusetts Historical Society.

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GIRARDIN TO JEFFERSON

Staunton, Sept. 5, 1819.

Dear and respected sir,

I am pressingly requested to apply to you on the subject which I will immediately mention and as it is one connected with an establishment which I know you have earnestly at heart, I comply with the request of my friend, though always fearful of obtruding my letters on your tranquillity and repose.

A very respectable gentleman with a wife and children, some of whom are married and some not, among the latter a son for whom he would wish to provide some advantageous employment, himself rather advanced in years, a man of solid acquirements in certain branches of science, and having devoted a considerable portion of his existence to honourable and useful labours but now in a state of health rather precarious and inadequate to such pursuits, is advised to open in Charlottesville a Bookstore and stationery assortment soon enough to insure the custom of the expected students. This gentleman thinks that this business would enable him to make as much as he now makes by his attention to a task in itself very arduous and slavish and he looks forward with no little anxiety to the establishment of his son to whom I have alluded and who might, he imagines, succeed him in the bookselling business in Charlottesville.

The request of my friend has a twofold object. In the first place he solicits your opinion of such an establishment as he contemplates and in the second place he requests you to advise him as to the undertaking, a list of books and such other implements as you think will be wanted at the opening of the University. He would also

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be glad to know by approximation at least the time when this commencement will take place.

I ought perhaps to have mentioned that the gentleman is connected with a very intelligent and very active printer and bookseller in one of our largest cities, who has first put him on this project and would furnish him with most of the necessary articles. He has also in view, if found expedient, to join to this business some other mercantile pursuit.

His reasons for not wishing me to name him at present is that a knowledge of any intention on his part to relinquish his actual employment might do him some injury. I have therefore promised him the greatest security but I can add without indiscretion that he is known to several of the most representative families in Charlottesville and esteemed by them.

His friend the printer, is at the Springs and if you can without too much fatigue or inconvenience transmit the requested list he will take it with him on his return and both will proceed with the execution of the project.

I have received the seed of the Scotch broom which you have so obligingly transmitted to me. I sincerely thank you for your kindness.

I hope that you continue to enjoy the inestimable blessing of good health. The climate on this side of the ridge which agrees so well with bilious temperaments such as mine does not agree with those constitutions in the least degree leaning toward pulmonary complaints. My poor sister in law is in danger of soon falling victim to its rigours and this circumstance together with a regard to the education of my children may compell me to wander. But God knows that it is not my fault. I would wish to be stationary.

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JEFFERSON TO GIRARDIN

September 22, 1819.

Dear Sir :

I received on my return from Bedford your favor of the 5th on the subject of a book store proposed by a friend of yours to be established at Charlottesville. I have been applied to by several booksellers and have declined giving an opinion on the subject to any, because it would be a matter of regret to have contributed to encourage an experiment were it to prove unsuccessful. My own intention has been, should the institution arrive at sufficient importance within my time, to procure a foreign bookseller in order to furnish it with foreign books and foreign editions of the classics. I suppose one from Amsterdam would answer best as a station between northern and southern countries of Europe. Such a bookseller would not interfere with one dealing in American or English books, nor the latter with the former, because continental printing is so much cheaper than English or American that he would undersell them. The buildings of our University are going up rapidly, but when it will open is still uncertain.

The long letter of Girardin written from his little farm at Hermitage, Virginia, is a pitiful story of disappointment, bad health, poverty and discouragement, the tragedy of a man totally unfitted to earn his living, but forced by circumstances to do so. It reflects the unfortunate conditions in the struggling educational institutions of the state, where teaching was held in no esteem, except as unmitigated drudgery, not only by Girardin himself, but apparently by his friends

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as well. But in spite of a growing discontent with all the circumstances of his life, he still indulges in dreams of future accomplishments. The Baltimore College (1) to which he refers in this letter was indeed a struggling institution throughout its history. In fact during the first thirty years of the 19th century education in Maryland was in a sorry plight. In 1807 the legislature withdrew its appropriation from Washington and from St. John's College. St. Mary's, the college department of the Seminary of Saint-Sulpice was the only flourishing one, having over one hundred pupils. Baltimore College originated from the union of two academies, that of Mr. James Priestly on St. Paul's Lane, and that of the Rev. James Knox on the corner of Chatham or Fayette Sts. and Mc Clellan's alley. Although not chartered until 1803, and opened even later, it was organised in 1800 with the interest and backing of Bishop Carroll, who was president of the board of trustees, and other public spirited citizens. The first session was held in Knox's school in 1808. Two years later the college was removed to Mulberry St. opposite Cathedral St., where a building had been erected with funds raised by means of a lottery to the amount of 30:000 dollars. The first class, numbering five, was graduated with the degree of A. B. in 1812. The college had a brief career, probably because of bad management, and was closed for some time previous to 1820. It was reopened by lectures on modern history by Dr Tobias Watkins, of whom Girardin speaks in his letter.

(1) For information relative to Baltimore College :
Scharf, J. T. *History of Baltimore City and County*, p. 225.
Cordell. *University of Maryland*, pp. 67 and 458.

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GIRARDIN TO JEFFERSON

Hermitage, Virginia, August 16, 1820.

I ought long since to have thanked you for your very friendly attention in informing me of the appearance of a translation of Botta by Mr. G. A. Otis. I ought, above all, immediately upon receiving that information, to have replaced in your hands the two volumes of the Italian work so obligingly lent me, as it was natural enough to suppose that you would wish to compare the copy with the original. The thousand and one insect vexations which have of late buzzed about my ears have prevented me in spite of my better intent from sooner fulfilling that duty. I have relapsed into the worst of my péchés d'habitude — procrastination — and now I have, as on many a former occasion, to claim your characteristic indulgence and forebearance.

Luckily, as it happens, the inconceivable drudgery of multiplied classes first in Staunton and afterwards here, together with the numberless interruptions of a farm upon an humble scale, with bad servants and a roguish manager, have rendered my progress in the translation of Botta's work extremely slow. The anticipation of Mr. G. A. Otis frustrates, therefore, no sanguine hope, defeats no promising scheme of mine. Indeed, I rejoice at his having put the American public in possession of so valuable a record of national history. For my part, insulated as I am, from publishers, printers and booksellers, who by rights should be the mere agents of authors, but who so often, as the inverted course of things will have it, have been their taskmasters, and according to the dictates of individual interests, show themselves either their patrons or

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their enemies, their benefactors or their tyrants. Even if my translation had been completed in due time, I should, I presume, have had to struggle with perhaps insurmountable difficulties for the successful publication and diffusion of it. I judge so, at least, from what has happened to my ill-fated volume of the *Continuation*, wretchedly printed, reluctantly circulated, as yet scantily remunerated by the proprietor, and not even honored with a notice of professional critics. The editor of the Portfolio has, indeed, asked me to supply him with certain data respecting my work. I know such things to be customary between authors and reviewers, but I really am not sufficiently stocked with unblushing assurance and overweening vanity to review, and of course to eulogize my own production. I prepared for him, however, a naked outline, and pointed out such passages as I deemed calculated to produce a favorable impression. Among these was my narrative of the arrival and reception of Dr Franklin in France. Soon after, an oblique blow was, I thought, inflicted on me in *The Portfolio*, volume VIII, October, 1819, page 815. In a review of Franklin's correspondence the Doctor is there illiberally abused for his expression of partiality for the French Nation, and that Nation itself for frivolity, debasement, thralldom, and its government for profligacy, tyranny, hypocrisy, depravity, etc. I am not sure that the passage issued from the pen of the editor, Mr. I. E. Hale, who, jointly with Mr. Duponceau, has procured for me on the ground of the *Continuation* the unexpected and surely unmerited honor of being appointed a member of the American Philosophical Society, but whether it was his own production or that of a collaborator, I was not pleased with it and the intended review rested there. The whole passage was disgusting in the extreme. No man of the least experience in politics can possibly mistake the leading motives of the French Court in affording aid to the American States. Yet

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there might exist, and actually existed, what I mentioned in the *Continuation, national enthusiasm* (1). Besides, where is the philosophy and the policy, too of ungenerously depressing the human character, which heaven knows is low enough, of itself. Further, did it become Dr Franklin, either as ambassador of a country so efficiently assisted by France, or as a private man loaded with courtesies, friendships and admiration, to express scorn, contempt and a condemnatory judgment and what-not ? Dr Franklin, it seems, spoke well, both of the government and of the people of France, both in his official and in his private letters. Our Anglomanes acrimoniously censured him for it. They almost stultify him on that account. Indeed and in truth, it would have done great honor to the Doctor to have held one language openly and another secretly. They impeach his judgment — very well. Let him rather have erred in that way than in point of veracity and consistency. An augur, says Cicero, can scarcely look at another augur without laughing. It may be so, at times, with politicians, yet there is a decorum both in public and in private life with which I am sure Dr Franklin is too well acquainted to have practiced the duplicity which the reviewers are astonished not to find in any part of his correspondence. He even goes so far as to suspect that the publisher of that correspondence has withheld from the public eye those expressions of contempt for the French Government and Nation to which I have above alluded. Be this as it may, I shall never regret having ascribed something to national sympathy and enthusiasm in that case. The truth is that our Anglomanes would be delighted in finding even the flowers of Franklin's parterre infected with the venom of their own minds, and I am inclined to think that Mr. Hall is not altogether free from the germ of Anglomania. Notwithstanding so many causes of despondency, I would

(1) Italics Girardin's.

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delight in revising and finishing the History of Virginia, and in publishing in letter form the whole of my own task under the title *The History of Virginia during and Since the Revolution*. This, however, requires data, many of them, I fear, unobtainable. The copyright must be ceded to me by the proprietors, which they once seemed inclined to do, in lieu of that part of the stipulated compensation yet due me. I must become possessed of leisure and other means to collect further documents and to mould them into a clear, animated and interesting narrative. Your friendly wish that I should devote my attention to that object, similar wishes expressed by M. Duponceau and other literati, are stimulants which must necessarily act on my mind with considerable force. Unfortunately my situation is far from being favorable to the prosecution of any literary design. Except for the recovery of my health (an important advantage it is true), everything is here contrary to my interest, my repose and my comfort. I shall not weary and disgust you with the details of my petty miseries attached to this situation. Suffice it to say that although a tolerably good algebraist, I have mistaken minus for plus. No matter in what point of view I consider this solitude, intellectually, morally or physically, I cannot (so great and so radical the evil is) draw out of it a single atom of good. I sink part of my little capital every year, and still I am incessantly at work. The worst is the fatal influence of the climate on the feeble and delicate constitution of a sister-in-law, who for eight years has devoted her whole time and attention to my motherless children and myself. I see her with anguish daily declining and withering in the keen breezes of this mountain air. Another deep source of tribulation is the want of means for the improvement of my daughters in music and drawing. Nature has gifted them with happy dispositions and I can instruct them myself in the substantial branches, but I wish to fit them for the task of Female

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Teachers (the best legacy which I think I can leave them), and it is not my intention that they should stop at mediocrity. Half talents and accomplishments are not worth attainment. These two last circumstances, especially, the bad health of my sister in this climate and the education of my daughters, are considerations which over-balance, in my mind, the censure and reflections of the world on my fickleness and inconsistency. I must remove to a more favorable theater. The times are highly unfavorable for renting my little farm and selling my stock, but I have committed the error, and so I must expiate it, too happy if I can only preserve in another place my restored health.

Some of the trustees of Baltimore College have thought of me as Principal of that institution, which they are anxious to revive and place on the high ground of liberality and usefulness. But independently of the want of funds in that establishment, a circumstance which allows the trustees to offer to the Principal merely the use of large, commodious and handsome buildings for the use of himself and the school, together with their personal influence among the parents and guardians of the youth of Baltimore, I am informed by Dr Watkins, who is extremely friendly to me, that the Board of Electors consists chiefly of bigoted sectarians wedded to particular men as well as particular doctrines, that among thirty-seven trustees not more than four or five have received even the rudiments of an education, and that it is probable they would be ever ready to commit any absurdity, however gross, in the managing of a literary institution ; that although the first article in their charter denounces in the strongest terms both political and religious intolerance, the object of a majority of them is to establish both. I learn from another gentleman that a Dr Barry, an Episcopalian minister, the spoiled child of fortune and of his sect, though not anxious to take an active share in the labours of juvenile instruction, ardently aspires to the title of « praeses Baltimo-

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riensis collegii » and the honors of conferring degrees. Connected with the clerical and literary ambitions of this gentleman, a storm of intrigue has developed which has astonished and almost petrified a poor recluse like myself. Dr Watkins has for many years nobly struggled against the fatal propensites of the trustees and others, and in the present case, he has prevented a hurried and almost clandestine election of Barry. But I augur ill of so much partiality, bigotry and illiberality. I know too little, as yet, of the specific duties of the situation, and its probable emoluments, to make up my own mind on the subject. I have, however, placed in the power and discretion of Dr Watkins a declaration that I would act if appointed. What the result has been or is likely to be, I have not yet been informed.

In Scotland Professor Leslie maintained on the occasion of his appointment to a professorship of Mathematics of the University of Edinburgh a glorious and successful struggle with a Presbyterian opponent, indeed with a whole Kirk. Judge Cooper, who is loudly threatened by the champions of the same sect in this part of Virginia, will, I trust, if he ever comes to Charlottesville, enjoy a similar triumph. But I am not armed with the panoply of science and merit, of either Leslie or Cooper. I do not therefore entertain any sanguine hope in respect to the situation, except inasmuch as it would afford great facilities for the education of my daughters in the ornamental branches (Baltimore abounding in good teachers of music and drawing), and a climate more propitious to the health of my sister.

This mania of placing academies, colleges, universities, etc. in the hands of men professionally disposed to propagate opinions rather than truths, will, I apprehend, ultimately prove injurious, if not to the liberties, at least to the liberal spirit of this country. Look at Hampden and Sidney, at the Lexington College, etc., etc., Comte d'Orsay, in a memoire, which I have somewhere in my little collection, and Dugald Stewart, in his *Short State-*

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ment of Facts Relative to Leslie, have luminously and forcibly developed the evils arising from this adherence to the old monacal system. Unfortunately, we possess few of those liberal, intelligent and patriotic minds that have courage, power and ascendancy enough to oppose and counteract the deficiency of this highly pernicious gravitation. I have told the persons concerned that I would always be ready to inculcate sound fundamental principles in religion, morals and politics, but that I could do no more. I wish for a task purely literary.

Mr. B. Fuller, who is a good man, and the best Euclidian I ever knew, is, between us, very much inclined to try with me an academy at Richmond. The Staunton establishment has dwindled to twenty-two pupils, and this worthy professor does not receive enough to support his family. His colleague, a clergyman of the Episcopal Church, would be in a still worse predicament, having a more numerous family to maintain, were it not for his parish. Mr. Fuller is the gentleman whom I once mentioned to you with respect to a book store in Charlottesville. I am now at liberty to mention him, and I again take the liberty to recommend him to your good graces should any prospect ever present itself for his advantage. This plan of a joint establishment at Richmond requires maturing. I will make inquiries of my friends there and not commit Mr. Fuller with the Staunton gentleman until positive data are obtained.

For myself, I am conscious that I can act only in these situations, that of teacher, of librarian, or of editor. The last would be most to my taste, but the times are peculiarly bad. In my dreams I have sometimes thought of a quarterly publication in the Latin language, with the motto *Pro Orbe Et Per Orbem*. It would be a miscellany containing the essence of that information which our gazettes afford respecting truly important subjects connected with the literature, arts, commerce, agriculture and politics of the United States. The Latin language is understood by men of education in all countries,

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and by addressing the prospectus to foreign ministers, consuls, etc., I might probably obtain adequate support, and although I foresee many difficulties in respect to the multiplicity of modern ideas to be expressed in an ancient idiom, still I am sanguine enough to think that I could conquer them. In conjunction with that publication, I would edit a French paper for mere matters of fact, and entitle it *Le Narrateur*. Also, a weekly, or semi-weekly, journal, in English. But these are probably mere « Chateaux en Espagne ».

A narrative of Burr's Conspiracy, after the manner of Sallust, or the Abbé de Saint-Réal, in his *Conspirations de Venise*, has sometimes appeared to me as a subject favorable to historical enterprise. Perhaps, however, the time has not yet come for the successful execution of such a design.

Pardon me, dear and respected sir, for this prolix letter, and, I fear, unpardonable intrusion on your time and repose. I did not at first intend such details. Your indulgent philosophy will easily excuse the schemes of one in my situation especially when these schemes originate in such motives.....I mean to locate my daughters and their aunt in Richmond, and look about myself for some suitable scene of work.

PS I have prepared, and mean soon to publish, a *System of Demonstrated Arithmetic*, an humble, but I am sure, useful work. I have always found Youth deplorably deficient in that fundamental branch.

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JEFFERSON TO GIRARDIN (1)

Monticello, Aug. 26, 1820.

Dear sir,

Your favor of the 16 th with the two volumes of Botta are safely received, and I am much pleased to learn that you still contemplate the completion of your history of Virginia. The sale of the first volume was undoubtedly damped by the wretched style of paper and print in which it was published, and I cannot but believe that, with more attention to this, the entire work would ultimately remunerate the cost and labor of the work. If the misfortunes of Baltimore have not too much diminished the means of education, I should suppose the situation proposed to you there would be tempting to you both as to honour and emolument. I shall be happy to hear if you find it so. Mr. Fuller's views of a book store in Charlottesville have not been anticipated by any other, but as yet it would be premature. The grammar school there will shortly, I think, break up, and the epoch of opening our university is still quite uncertain.

I observe your inclination to print a quarterly paper in Latin. I very much doubt its success. Periodical papers are generally taken up for light reading, which would not be the character of a Latin paper. Men of science would probably read it for the novelty, but these are few, and so scattered over the entire surface of the union that their subscriptions could never be collected. But be this or whatever other pursuit you adopt with my sincere wishes for your success, accept the assurance of my great esteem and respect.

(1) Massachusetts Historical Society.

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Girardin decided to try his fortune in Baltimore, but it was not until several months later that he reported to Jefferson the condition of the school, and his experiences in Baltimore. We observe that the man who was almost hopelessly discouraged and was feeling so keenly the drudgery of classes in Staunton, is now quite undaunted at the very real difficulties presented by the situation in Baltimore, and feels himself imbued with « efficient energy and steadfastness ». The progress of his daughters in their education and the greater opportunities for association with men of literary tastes revived his zest for life and inspired him with zeal for his almost insurmountable task of presiding over this struggling college.

GIRARDIN TO JEFFERSON

April 1, 1821.

Dear and respected sir,

I have postponed returning my thanks to you for your friendly recommendations in my favor to the Trustees of Baltimore College until I saw what aspect the institution would assume under my management. Surely it was prostrate in every respect when I arrived here. The genius of mischief was hovering in triumph above its ruins owing to a previous want of energy, system, harmony and liberality of the parties concerned. Much prejudice existed even against the revival of the Institution which I am told a Judge, one of the trustees, had denounced from the bench as a public nuisance, meaning the reckless, licentious acts of insubordination committed by its students, and in some degree too, influenced by party spirit ,I am afraid. I confess that so deplorable a state of things greatly discouraged me at first. The trustees however manifested towards me great politeness

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and respect, so soon as the uncommon severity of the winter would permit they repaired the building, where I now have spacious and neat apartments commanding on all sides a most delightful prospect, and, what is still better, situated in the most salubrious part of the city. The college was reopened Jan. 15, and we have nearly forty students, not including about as many who attend the college for Dr. Watkins' lectures on modern literature. We expect six or eight more tomorrow as it is the commencement of a quarter. In short, seeing all previous disadvantages, I think we are doing very well. Further professorships of a high character are in progress while our modest academic basis is daily enlarged. I trust that within a year or two the Baltimore College will have just claim to a respectable station among the eminent institutions of the country. I can, as far as I am concerned ,solemnly assert that the machinations heretofore employed to put to flight activity, zeal, modest knowledge, and unassuming usefulness shall meet with efficient energy and steadiness to frustrate and deride their effort.

We contemplate a library. Were I not afraid of giving you too much trouble, I should request the notice of the *Editiones optimae* now in your possession, which you were so good as to mention when I was last at Monticello. Chance offers here now and then an opportunity of obtaining Italian books for almost nothing. I lately bought for 25 cents a very good edition of the *Decamerone* di Boccaccio which after being bound is truly valuable. Mr. Guigan is going to Richmond. He is uncommonly dear. There are many private libraries in the city extremely well chosen if not considerable. Their owners as far as my acquaintance yet extends are liberal and disposed to accommodate me. This circumstance and the abundant means of female education which I have found here for my daughters renders my situation far more eligible than it was in Augusta and I hope to make here a permanent residence.

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I believe that all the papers relative to the University of Virginia, I mean those of a public nature, have been collected into a small 8vo. If this my impression is correct allow me to request one copy. I am often questioned on the subject and really find myself at a loss on several points.

The subject of the Court of Death by Peale is drawn from the *Poem on the Death of Bishop Porters*. I have not yet discovered in a Roman historian a mention of the daughters of Brutus. *Erit ut poesis pictura*, may be conversely said. Painters as well as poets may indulge in fanciful creations for the sake of effect. Not having yet met with an edition of Cicero accompanied with an index vocabulorum et nominum, my wading through three volumes in search of those daughters of Brutus has proved fruitless. I have, indeed seen in one no. of the *Portfolio* an engraving for the painting by David which has furnished those two heads but the concomitant notice says nothing of the Young Ladies. Nay, I have through Dr. Watkins, proposed the question, « Who were the daughters of Brutus represented in David's famous picture ? » to the Delphian Club and the Oracle has not yet been able to give a response. Mrs. Randolph and Miss Helen Randolph have probably ere this time been more successful in ascertaining the point under doubt.

Nearly two years later we find Girardin still facing difficulties, but confident of ultimate success. The scientific and literary society to which he here refers was the Maryland Academy of Science and Literature, of which he was president at the time of his death in 1825. The records of this society were destroyed by fire in 1827, and its present officers seem to be in doubt as to its origins. The earliest authentic record, the proceedings, printed in 1830, contains the article of Ducatel from which we have frequently quoted. Ducatel's statement that Girardin was interested in the founding of the Academy, and

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was its first president would seem to place the founding of this group during Girardin's residence in Baltimore, although the traditions of the society place it much earlier, indeed connect it with a group of men which met at the museum of Charles Wilson Peale.

GIRARDIN TO JEFFERSON (1)

Baltimore, January 1st 1823.

Dear and respected sir,

I am so unwilling to disturb a repose which I hold sacred, that I have felt, without expressing it to you, the deepest sympathy at the painful accident which happened to you, some time since. I can not however, on hearing that the consequences of it are entirely over, or nearly so, refrain from telling you how sincerely I rejoice at your recovery.

The recollections of the good and the wise, and the love and esteem of all who know and appreciate them, essentially constitutes happiness. My good wishes therefor, at this, or any other season, can not add to yours. They are however, poured out with unabated warmth and sincerity.

This college recovers slowly, but must finally flourish. The progress of my daughters in Music, Drawing, etc., affords me much consolation, amid a variety of troubles. I derive also considerable gratification from a scientific and literary society which we have lately formed here.

My ardent wishes for your happiness, extend to that of your amiable domestic circle. May you all enjoy perfect health !

I salute you with sentiments of heartfelt gratitude and respect.

(1) Massachusetts Historical Society.

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The next letter in the Jefferson correspondance returns to the despondent mood of the Virginia days. Three years of struggle to make a college out of nothing have killed his vaunted energy and steadfastness. The work has again become drudgery, and he returns to the hope of his youth, to gain a livelihood as librarian of a national library. Although so completely identified with the country of his adoption he has not lost interest and pride in the country of his birth, and longs especially for the leisure to defend its literary reputation against the deprecations of the English reviews. Personal causes contributed much to this new discouragement. The prospect of a dreaded break in his family defeated his efforts to establish a reputation in Baltimore. His own health must have added to the depression, for the application for the post of Librarian of Congress was made hardly a year before his death. Jefferson gladly complied with his request for a recommendation, but the chances seemed slight for an early appointment.

GIRARDIN TO JEFFERSON

Dec. 6, 1823.

Dear and respected sir,

I have, from motives which I deem correct, sedulously avoided disturbing your repose by obtrusive letters and requests and I now earnestly entreat your pardon for making a communication which would be an encroachment on that repose as well as on your goodness.

I passed in the month of April last in view of Monticello. My anxiety to go and present my respects to you and inquire about your health was extreme but the Gentlemen with whom I was travelling to Staunton on

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business of the utmost importance to my little family could not possibly stop at Charlottesville and I was compelled to follow them. I felt distressed at the circumstance. I was like a pilgrim coming in sight of some holy place but unable to approach it and to make in it the long desired pause.

Had I then enjoyed the pleasure of seeing you I would have taken the liberty to explain to you certain circumstances which I now beg leave to explain to you as briefly as possible and in relation to which I solicit your usual forbearance.

Many causes have combined to prevent my full success here. 1. The total want of funds. 2. The entire prostration of Baltimore College and its deeply rooted unpopularity. 3. The apathy of most of the trustees, who besides are not men of predominating influence. 4. The sectarian spirit and exclusive favoritism prevalent here. 5. The multiplicity of teachers in this place and the beggarly practices and disgraceful arts, intrigues, etc., of most of them. The impolicy on the part of the trustees of forcing upon me a professor of abilities, indeed, but utterly destitute of dignity, energy and other qualifications especially requisite for the contemplated revival. A development of these and other causes of the failure of my hopes would tire even your indulgent patience. I will therefore confine myself to a few further remarks on this subject. The buildings have been under my protection not only screened from further wanton injury but restored to neatness and decency and comfort. Discipline and order are strictly maintained ; both ability and zeal are acknowledged to exist at the Baltimore College at present but owing to causes which I have mentioned and to other equally inauspicious circumstances, I have reason to fear a protracted stagnation, nay, a final overthrow of my most rational hopes.

In July last I offered my resignation to the trustees. To prevent the second prostration of the Institution which must inevitably have followed, they proposed leav-

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ing the whole to my management, uncontrolled by them on condition of my paying an annual rent of $ 400. The importance of finishing the education of my daughters in music and drawing and also certain views of a private and social nature induced me to accept the proposal. I have regenerated the college as to teachers, system, etc. But plans of this sort are necessarily slow in their execution. They further require funds to a certain extent. I have only 43 pupils yet. At Xmas the number may increase and enable me to engage an additional teacher, but in the meantime my expenses are going on. The fluctuations of the value of landed property have affected even me. I have sold my little farm at a loss of 51 0/0 and I am really afraid of sinking the whole in this hopeless undertaking, having scarcely any other prospect of advantage but that of fitting my daughters for eminent female teachers. Indeed another affliction threatens me. An excellent sister-in-law who for twelve years has devoted all her cares and attentions to my motherless children is to all appearances in the last stages of an incurable malady. Her loss plunges my little family into new misfortune.

Pardon, dear and respected sir, such details, they were however necessary to introduce the request which I presume to make. I hear that there is some probability of the office of Librarian of Congress becoming vacant at no distant day. My information is indeed very vague and may be ill founded. Permit me however, to claim your recommendations to the President in the event of the present incumbent resigning. I have paid much attention to Bibliography and since my removal to this place have received from France several excellent works on the subject, among them *Dictionnaire Raisonné de Bibliographie*, and *Manuel du Bibliophile* par G. Peignot, and *Manuel du Libraire et de l'amateur de livres* par J. C. Brunet. I expect every day the *Dictionnaire des ouvrages anonymes et pseudonymes* de Barbier, *La Bibliographie de la France* de Beuchot. the works of Dibdin, Debure, etc.,

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on the same subject, so as to enlarge my knowledge of the subject.

The place of Librarian, were I thought worthy of it would, I believe, answer all purposes. It would offer a competent salary and place it in my power to revise, complete and republish my continuation of the history of Virginia under the title *History of Virginia during and since the Revolution*. It would thus also enable me to enter upon the publication of a periodical intended to counteract the false impressions circulated in the British magazines and reviews on the status of science and literature in France, Germany, Italy, etc. (Something upon the plan in the tone and in the spirit of the *Revue Encyclopédique*). This work would be divided into two parts, the one retrospective, the other contemporaneous. The present drudgery to which I am condemned forbids even the thought of my engaging in either of the above schemes.

JEFFERSON TO GIRARDIN (1)

Monticello, Dec. 19, 1923.

Dear sir,

Your letter of the 6th came but lately to hand. I cheerfully comply with the request it conveyed of writing to the President on the subject of the librarian's office. I inclose a letter to him stating truths to which I ever bear witness with pleasure. I shall be the happier if the position should befriend the publication of your history.

Our university is going on well, gathering popularity rapidly and high hopes are entertained from the character of the present legislature, that they will take mea-

(1) Massachusetts Historical Society.

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sures for bringing it soon into operation. With my best wishes for your success in obtaining from the President of the U. S. the office in the Capitol which is the object of your desire, accept the assurance of my great esteem and respect. »

GIRARDIN TO JEFFERSON

Baltimore, Jan. 24th, 1824.

Dear and respected sir,

Accept my deep and sincere thanks for your kind letter to Mr. Monroe in my behalf. In the event of a vacancy, it will greatly operate in my favor. Whether or not a vacancy will soon take place, is yet uncertain.

The information concerning the University is doubly agreeable to me. I know that it will be a source of incalculable and permanent benefit to the country, and I am aware of the satisfaction which the completion of this good work of your hands must convey to you. The University of Virginia will become a focus of general light for the state, and for the union at large, and none but those who have reasons to hate light, ever augured ill of its effects.

I take the liberty to enclose two copies of an imperfect greek translation of Resolutions in favor of the Greeks, which I have made at the request of Mr. W. G. D. Worthington one for you, and one for Col. Randolph.

With prayers that your health may continue good, and with great veneration, gratitude and respect.

The last extant letter of Girardin to Jefferson precedes his death by a very few months. The matter of obtaining documents for the *Memoirs of Lafayette* was evidently

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satisfactorily arranged, for Ducatel mentions the fact that at the time of his death, Girardin was engaged in writing the life of Lafayette from documents furnished by Lafayette himself — another abortive enterprise, this time certainly not to be blamed on any varying whims of his own. From Ducatel also we learn that the defense of Pulaski was in answer to an attack upon him in Judge Johnson's life of General Greene.

GIRARDIN TO JEFFERSON

Oct. 27, 1824.

Dear and respected sir,

During the short stay of General Lafayette in this city the letter which you were so good as to give him for me in 1815 was presented. Your recommendation was sufficient to ensure to me the kindest reception. Accordingly, when I was introduced to him in the morning of his departure from Baltimore he received me with the utmost affability and expressed a wish for further conversation. But, as deputations were crowding around him, I became apprehensive of encroaching on his valuable moments, and contented myself with requesting his permission to write to him at Monticello, well assured that he would pay a visit to his best, his most distinguished, his most beloved friend in Virginia. My request was cheerfully assented to and I now take the liberty of sending under your envelope a letter for the General. The circumstances of my thus addressing him having originated in your friendly recommendations of 1815 will, I trust, be considered as an admissible apology for that liberty.

To write the *Memoirs* of General Lafayette if honored with his confidence to such an extent as to obtain from

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him the necessary documents would be for me a proud as well as a delightful task. Much as I mistrust my ability to do justice to such a task I would gladly undertake it, hoping to supply deficiency of talent by zeal and diligence. You very justly told your illustrious friend in the letter above referred to that I cherish and venerate his character. Since that letter was written my respect for him has been further increased by the immutalibity of his principles and the dignity of his moral attitude amid so many wrecks and ruins of character which France has for some years past exhibited. Indeed that increased veneration extends to all those who contributed either by their wisdom or their valor to the establishment of the American Republic. As the contrast deepens and becomes more striking I cling the more fondly and the more closely to our free and protecting institutions. General Lafayette is identified on both hemispheres with a noble cause, with a cause dear to us all, the cause of principles and of regulated liberty. His Youth was the champion of that cause ; in his riper years he still supported it and suffered in its defense ; his old age is the « phare », the guiding light of its friends in Europe, or at least in France. Here while paying to his individual merits a just homage, the national feelings naturally associated with him all the sages and heroes of the American Revolution and indeed all the eminent votaries of freedom in all ages and in all countries. This Jubilee is the best answer to the Holy Alliance. It is the separation of light from darkness, so far as that separation can be effected and until the great fiat of nations shall complete the political creation so happily begun in the United States.

With these feelings and views I should delineate *con amore* the events of a life so honorable, so dignified, so useful to mankind as that of General Lafayette. I am told that he does not wish his Memoirs to be published before his death but he might probably consent to favor us, his beloved Americans and through us the world at

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large with what may be called the American part of his life. I need not dwell on the deep and affectionate interest with which that or any other part of his memoirs would be received if understood to be founded on documents furnished by himself. At any rate he would no doubt readily communicate the journal of his Virginia campaign of which I shall stand in much need for a second edition of my part of the history of Virginia. It is my intention to detach that part from the labour of Burk and Jones, to retouch, correct and enlarge it, and to have it neatly printed in New York, or Philadelphia under the following title, *The History of Virginia during and since the Revolution*, in-8vo volumes. So soon as the education of my children shall be completed, so soon as I am released from the deplorable drudgery to which I am now chained it is my fixed resolution to carry that plan into effect. I hope to accomplish the task before I die. The office of Librarian of Congress would afford me great facilities for the completion of the enterprise, but I now fear there is no prospect of its becoming vacant before Mr. Monroe to whom you have been so kind as to recommend me goes out of office, nor can I be certain of its being bestowed upon me even if it should become vacant in time. But, no matter, I am resolved upon a new edition in every way superior to the first.

In your conversation with the General, dear and respected sir, I will much thank you to say a few words in aid of my views in relation to all or any of the objects mentioned above. I am well aware that the first is one of great delicacy and of its practicability I entertain many doubts. The second and third present less difficulty. The confirmation to General Lafayette of what you were so good as to write in 1815 would evidently have the happiest effect. Documents, I presume, might easily be transmitted from France, and if not, a voyage across the Atlantic is not impracticable. The General is to revisit Baltimore at no very distant day, and as his moments will be more at his disposal, I hope to enjoy the advan-

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tages of a private conversation with him on these and other topics.

I hope that you continue to enjoy as good health as when I had last the pleasure of seeing you. I cordially rejoice at the approaching completion of your great and good work, the University of Virginia. The opening of that splendid establishment and the visit of your old and venerable friend, two joyful events nearly simultaneous, will, I know, singularly gladden your heart.

I beg your acceptance of two copies of *Pulaski's Vindication*, one for yourself and one for Colonel Randolph, with my respectful and friendly compliments. I lately wrote this pamphlet to gratify my old and worthy friend, Colonel Bentalow, a respectable officer of Pulaski, who died in his arms. The brave Colonel could not have died in peace had not his gallant Commander been thus avenged. He furnished me with notes and I wrote the Vindication. The subject was worthy a better pen, but after all, the adversary was not a very formidable one.

Louis Hue Girardin died in Baltimore on February 16, 1825 at the comparatively early age of 54. The Baltimore American reported the event with notices showing the high esteem and admiration which the citizens of Baltimore felt for this foreigner who had worked so untiringly in their interest (1). In addition to expressions of regret from the members of the Academy of Science and Literature on the loss of their president, and a resolution to wear mourning for him, the Agricultural Society of Maryland called a special meeting to do honor to his memory. He is referred to as « one of the most distinguished ornaments of our scientific and literary circles ; distinguished not for wealth, but for highly cultivated talents, a liberal and generous spirit, and that enlarged and enlightened philanthropy which induced him to throw open for the common benefit of mankind the va-

(1) *The Baltimore American*, Feb. 17, 18, 19, 1825.

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rious stores of his intellectual harvests, abounding in seeds and fruits of all kinds of useful knowledge ». The students of Baltimore College collected a fund to raise a monument to his memory. The college itself was hardly a worthy monument. After Girardin's death it continued a bare existence until it was merged into the University of Maryland in 1830. Girardin's was not a life of any brilliant accomplishments ; he was baulked by fate, it might almost seem, in most of his ambitions and undertakings. Yet he was able to impress a man of Jefferson's brilliance with the value of his character and mind, and all of those who came in contact with him felt that he had something unusual to give them. Perhaps it was because, in a new country where economic struggle was receiving more attention than cultivation of the mind, he steadfastly held to his literary tastes and to his ideals for propagating those tastes, in the face of great obstacles. The new world, in spite of material necessity, recognized that he brought to it the best of the old: qualities of mind which the leaders of Jefferson's day possessed, and which the succeeding generation saw pass away with regret.

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II

NICHOLAS GOUIN DUFIEF

One may ask by what title Nicholas Gouin Dufief should be reclaimed from the oblivion in which he now reposes, and how he differed from most of that drifting population of refugees who came and went in the America of the early nineteenth century. Certainly he has no claim to greatness, although he took pride in a mother who was distinguished by Louis XVIII for services rendered to the royalist cause, and who was herself a titled lady. Dufief himself was merely a bookseller and teacher of French in the city of Philadelphia, but he is worthy of our especial attention because he was among those who brought the thought of eighteenth century Europe to this country, and because he almost discovered a direct and natural method of teaching languages. In fact his ideas if worked out would have produced such a method, and he as well as the many teachers who used his book (for it was very popular) thought that perfection had been attained. An examination of his method will show that the distance was great between theory and practice, but the effort to put in practice the theories of Locke and others whom he claims as his inspirers is interesting and worthy of some study, because it was, as far as we can ascertain, one of the earliest attempts at a « natural » method.

The life of Dufief was quite obscure, and we have been unable to find very much beyond the account which he

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himself gives in the preface to his « Method ». Some of the pretentions which he makes are quite extravagant, especially when he relates the birth of his great idea, but the facts in general must be fairly accurate, for there were many people in Philadelphia when it was published who could verify the incidents and in fact one of them did. He tells us, offering the documents to prove his story, (1) that he was a « gentilhomme de Bretagne », that he had served in the royal navy corps at Enghien until it was disbanded, that his mother, who is addressed as Madame la Comtesse in a letter of gratitude of Louis XVIII, had armed her vassals and personnally led them in the cause of royalty. In the meantime his father was serving under the French princes in Germany. At the age of sixteen, already a veteran of the wars, Dufief found his way to Philadelphia by way of the West Indies. He then set about learning the English language, « in the beaten track » as he says. The beaten track apparently consisted of the works of three English historians, with those of Milton and Thompson, and two grammars and two dictionaries to elucidate them. Driven from Philadelphia by fear of the yellow fever, he took refuge in Princeton, New Jersey. But in his hasty departure the grammars had been left behind, and the poor young man was left to face Milton and possibly Gibbon with no aid but a dictionary, without even an inhabitant of that seat of learning who knew enough French to aid him. In spite of these seemingly insurmountable difficulties Nature came to his aid in some mysterious manner, and in four months he had, he says, a « tolerable » knowledge of English, including a « tolerably » good pronunciation. As his adjective is rather elastic, it is difficult to judge of the degree of perfection to which he had attained. Certainly the style of his book, which was written some ten years later, is free from errors. Having thus accidentally discovered that grammars are not indispensable

(1) *Preface to Nature Displayed*, 8th edition, Phila, 1832.

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(a discovery which he compares in importance to Newton's accident), he tells us that he immediately proceeded to seek for a theoretical basis for a grammarless method of learning languages, and that by inquiry and reading he found that Bacon, Locke, Condillac, Dumarsais, d'Alembert, Saint-Pierre and others had had ideas resembling his. Backed by such authorities, he immediately set to work to put his method into practice and to formulate it in a book. This seems to have taken him about ten years although he gives the impression that his inspiration was immediately put into practice. It was, however, in 1793 that he fled the fever in Philadelphia, and in 1804 that the first edition of his work appeared.

At this point the narrative of Dufief breaks off, for beyond establishing his origins, and the birth of his idea he had no interest. A search in the newspapers of Philadelphia rewards us only with a few scattered advertisements of his book and his school, and a notice of his death in London in 1834. He is spoken of as the author of *Nature Displayed* and « many other standard works ». The advertisement of the school (1) is a rather curious item. Nicholas Gouin Dufief informs his fellow citizens of Philadelphia that he will open his school on the 14 th of Sept., 1804. From nine to two he will attend young ladies and gentlemen in their homes ; every other day from four to six and from six to nine, he will hold classes at his residence at N° 5, South 5th St. There follows a full column analysis of his method.

That the method of Dufief attained some notoriety at the time of its publication is attested by a controversy into which he was forced by William Rawle of Philadelphia and by the attacks of the professor of French at the University of Pennsylvania. The attack of Rawle is difficult to explain on the part of a distinguished citizen of Philadelphia who was one of the first members of the American Philosophical Association, and a promoter of

(1) *Aurora*, Phila, 1804 announcement appearing through Augnst.

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education and all civic progress. When Dufief's book was published Rawle wrote him a very bitter letter which he made public (1), and in which he reproached him for not giving him credit for many of the ideas in the method. Rawle claimed that when his sons were pupils of Dufief the latter had often discussed with him the teaching of languages, that he was teaching at the time by the conventional grammatical method, and that owing to his suggestions he had changed the system to one similar to that set forth in the work called *Nature Displayed*. Dufief replied with a pamphlet in which he justified the originality of his work as far as concerned Rawle, by pointing out that Rawle's sons first came under his tuition in May 1800, when his method, though not published, was already well known. He cites a letter from Jefferson written early in 1800 which lauded the plan, and offers a sworn affidavit of a certain M. Besseloire, who was then engaged in transcribing his book, to the effect that he had in his presence defended the method against M. Gallet, then professor of French at the University of Pennsylvania. For further proof he adds the signatures of fifteen pupils who had been taught by the method between 1796 and 1800. All this was very much of a tempest in a teapot, but it indicates that Dufief and his method must have been the object of some notoriety to have attracted the anger of so important a man.

Whatever the truth may be about the « discovery » of the natural method by Dufief, he became well acquainted with the theorists before writing his book. Probably this and experimenting on his students occupied the nine years between 1793 and 1804. His publications include the two volumes called *Nature Displayed* and a very curious dictionary, compared to which the Petit Larousse seems devoid of information. The second, third, fifth and sixth editions of the method are to be found in the

(1) Dufief : *Logic of facts ; conduct of Wm Rawle toward N. G. Dufief.* A. Dickinson, Phila, 1806.

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New York Public Library, and a copy of the eighth edition is the property of M. Chinard. The first edition I have not seen, but the preface to the second edition is much more interesting and complete than that of the succeeding ones, and is perhaps a reproduction of the first. Each preface is plentifully supplied with quotations from Locke, Condillac, Montaigne, Sicard and Jefferson in defense of natural methods and in criticism of grammar and grammarians. This natural method has little in common with the direct methods in vogue today, except its hostility to grammar ,and the fact that the teacher used French in teaching. But the vocabulary was not learned from objects or from association of ideas, but purely and simply from memorizing lists of words and phrases rarely having any connection with each other, but helped by an artificial system of numerical references. He quotes from Condillac's *Logic Part I*, chap. 9 : « Could anyone know a language if the brain did not acquire habits answering to those of the ears to hear it, to those of the lips to speak it, and to those of the eyes to read it ? The recollection of a language is not therefore solely in the habits of the brain ; it is besides in the habits of the organs of hearing, of speech and of sight ». This principle Dufief puts into practice as follows. In the presentation of the lesson the teacher spells and then reads each word and phrase to be memorized, giving a phonetic pronunciation to the letters of the alphabet which is a help rather than an hindrance to the correct sound of the word. The pupil with the printed word before him repeats aloud the spelling and the reading of the teacher. He has before him also the English meaning of the word or phrase, which he *never says aloud* but which his eye can observe while his ear and organs of speech are learning the French sound. The pupil is never allowed to try any new words which have not thus been practised ,and he never constructs any sentences except from phrases already committed to memory as units. Thus, says Dufief, he never mispro-

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nounces, and never constructs un-French idioms, because he does not compose any phrases of his own. No mention is made of a possible percent of error in what the pupil hears. It is curious to note that a modern English theorist, Palmer, has a very similar idea for preventing errors in idiom´,but he admits as an objection to his method that it is very slow ,whereas Dufief makes claims of extraordinary speed of accomplishment for his. In the same preface and in the same connection Dufief quotes a letter from Thomas Jefferson observing that « The proposition to teach a language by phrases is new as a method, although, besides infants learning their mother tongue, we have seen persons learn a foreign language that way ; and I have observed that they are less apt to run into barbarisms as *je suis froid* for *I am cold*, etc., than those who learn single words and put them together of themselves. I have observed that to understand modern Latin you must understand the native language of the writer and to find the meaning of a phrase, retranslate it into his language ». Dufief then cites Condillac, Helvetius, and Montaigne on the importance of knowing exact meanings, and the necessity of unadulterated memorizing to attain this end.

As to the attacks on grammar, they are numerous and vary in the different prefaces. In the Preliminary Discourse to the second edition is found the clearest expression of his own views,« Grammars do not teach orthoepy or pronunciation, orthography or spelling, nor the different meanings of words apparently synonymous without the knowledge of which no accuracy or correctness can ever exist in language, nor do they secure from barbarisms or modes of expression foreign and of course hostile to the genius of the language on which they treat. The man of plain sense has therefore reason to be astonished that grammars have so long been improperly called « books that teach the art of speaking and writing correctly, an extensive art which they neither contain nor can impart. » From Condillac he quotes, « Il y a eu des poètes

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et des orateurs avant qu'on imaginât de faire des grammaires, des poétiques et des rhétoriques » and Sicard, the great teacher of the deaf and dumb, who says, « On ne peut apprendre la grammaire d'une langue quelconque, même celle de son pays que quand on sait parler, que quand on sait causer », or as Dufief himself expresses it, « The rules of grammar are only a collection of observations upon custom... the knowledge of the custom should precede the knowledge of rules ». His animosity becomes most forcible in the following: « That grammatical science is founded upon error is proven by the number of treatises written upon it. The more dark and obscure the science, the more treatises are written upon it. For example observe the infinite number of volumes on Alchemy, Astrology, Physic, Polemical Theology, while Euclid's *Elements* is the only book on the science of geometry ». What then are grammars good for ? To obtain, he concludes, a more critical knowledge of a language with which we are already sufficiently acquainted for the general purposes of society. Again he supports this view with the authority of Locke. However bad grammars may be in theory, all the grammars in current use are not condemned wholesale. He mentions three which are used in America, Pernier, which is « bad », and Levizac and Chambaud, which are much superior.

But in spite of all these excellently supported theories Dufief was not able to free himself from the domination of grammar, and under the more enticing title of *Analysis of Language or Syntax Made Easy*, it figures largely in his book, filling some 350 pages of the second volume. The composition of this section is most interesting. There are fifteen « conversations » in catechism form on the parts of speech. Then follow twenty-three « lessons » on syntax, which consist of a series of rules, but are plentifully supplied with examples which it is to be presumed were memorized and formed a part of the rote learning in which Dufief placed all his faith. Perhaps the grammatical section was added for such an unworthy motive

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as to give his book a wider sale, since everyone was not convinced of the perfection of the new method. At least there is no defense of it in the preliminary discourse. That he himself used this part of the book in connection with the rest will be seen if we follow through a sample lesson as outlined by him in one of the prefaces.

First lesson :

1. Master and class by repetition read the alphabet pronouncing it phonetically, e.g. a, be, ce, de, fe,.
2. From the vocabulary (classified according to the parts of speech) the prepositions and adverbs are spelled and pronounced with the master and committed to memory for the second day.
3. Next turn to vol. II, p. 1, and memorize the infinitives and four tenses of the indicative of verb avoir.
4. Back to vol. I, p. 1, to repeat and memorize a page of phrases with corresponding numbers.

Second and third lessons :

1. Proceed with equal parts of three different vocabularies.
2. Learn conversational phrases on p. 303.
3. Begin the analysis of language vol. II, p. 106.
4. Begin the « Lecture française » the master repeating words and phrases first in French, then in English, the student repeating in French only. This also is committed to memory.

The *Lecture Française* which was added as an appendix to his *method* is worthy of some examination. In the first place it contains a great variety of matter which was, it appears, a new idea. Dufief tells us, and book lists of the time seem to prove, that practically the only

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French text in use for reading was *Télémaque*. Dufief, who did not believe in reading except as an additional exercise in pronunciation and memory, has given a third of his second volume to many and diverse selections from different types of French literature. These selections were intended chiefly as an accessory to his learning method and not as an introduction to literary study. He expresses his theory thus: (1) « There is no necessity for beginning to read authors early, for by learning the vocabularies in the manner we have proposed we learn the three things which constitute the knowledge of a language ; to understand, speak, and read or write it. Application to books suited to the taste of a pupil will divide his attention which should be wholly devoted to the committing to memory of the practical part. »

One is almost inspired to try it and see if it really brings results, for Dufief speaks with the convincing zeal of a missionary, and not the professional enthusiasm of an advertiser. His claims for the method are most extravagant. If it were all true we could speak any language we desired in a few weeks, provided we were capable of the considerable feats of memory which the method demands. The chief claims are accuracy, speed, and a good pronunciation. Rapidity in learning is the only one of the three on which his witness' word can have any weight with us, although we are solemnly told that a pupil in England who had studied in a class with some two hundred others was, at the end of two courses of thirty-six lessons each, taken for a Frenchman by a person newly arrived in England. The pupils who learned by this method seem to have been inspired by a zeal almost equal to that of their master, for they willingly lend their names and boast of their marvelous success in learning the language. One of the incidental advantages of the system, is that it is reversible, so to speak.

(1) 2nd édition, *Preliminary Discourse*, p. 21.

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Mme Moreau, the wife of the exiled general, learned English in three months with M. Dufief, and Mrs. Merry, the wife of the English ambassador, learned French with equal speed out of the same book ! This is a proof that although the grammar rules are present in the book, and are written in English, the pupil must have learned merely the phrases. Private schools for boys and girls are cited with the names of the pupils, and reference is made to laudatory notices in several current periodicals (1). In 1811 a Spanish-English edition appeared which had at least three editions, for these are to be found in the New York Public Library. This also was intended to teach either language to Spanish, American, and British merchants. It is even more clearly designed for that than Dufief's own French edition, for the title pages and introduction are in both languages. It is interesting to observe that the last Spanish edition is evidently in frequent use in the New York library, it has been rebound in a modern binding, and bears many recent dates of users. The French editions were all apparently untouched for many years (2).

In the later editions of his work Dufief speaks of a dictionary which is soon to appear, and which will be upon an entirely new plan. It will « give accurately the pronunciation of every French word, whether vernacular or technical, so that every person debarred from the assistance of a French instructor may nevertheless learn how to pronounce every word agreeably to the most reputable usage ». The second feature is that it will be « eminently grammatical and critical, and occasionally philological and etymological ». A copy of this

(1) *Literary Magazine, Port Folio, Medical Repository, Monthly Register, Monthly Anthology, Boston Review Panoplist*, and *Christian Armorial.*

(2) The Spanish edition is by Don Mariano Velasquez de la Cadena and L. Hargous, professores de Gramatica General, and Don Manuel de Torres, late minister plen. from the Republic of Colombia to the United States ; pub. N. Y. 1825.

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dictionary is also to be found in the New York library, in three vols. Philadelphia, 1810. The title page which is in French and English, claims for it 50.000 terms and names not found int he dictionaries of Boyer, Perry, Nugen, Tocquoit or any other lexicographer. The first volume is to contain : 1. All the words in general use, with the « striking and peculiar advantage of defining French terms in English.2. Technical terms of every science, art, trade and manufacture (follows a list of 180 of them) 3. All the words introduced during the French revolution in the laws, politics and government of that period. 4. Nomenclature of sects and factions which arose in France in the ccurse of the Revolution. 5. Pronunciation with a key. The second volume contains an English-French dictionary, with the pronunciation of the English words, a treatise on English particles; Cobbett's nomenclature of English verbs followed by their parts ; a dissertation on English poetry ; a list of English and French Christian names. In the third volume there are dictionaries of sea terms, of articles of merchandise, a table of gold and silver coins with their weight and value in French and American currency ; a similar table of American and English coins ; tables of the present weights and measures of the French empire with corresponding values in American measures ; a dictionary of French homonyms ; a dictionary of English synonyms compiled from Blair, Tucker and Prozy ; a similar list of French synonymous terms compiled from Girard, Beauzee, Roubard, Jaucourt, d'Alembert and Marmontel ; the difficulties of the French language alphabetically arranged, with an imposing list of sources ; a *complete* treatise on French poetry : « the Roman Corneille, the chaste Boileau, the tender and impassioned Racine, the polished, philosophical, dramatic Voltaire, the brilliant effusions of La Fontaine ». Then the adjectives seem to be exhausted and he contents himself with naming Rousseau, Bernis, Dorat, Delille, Lefranc de Pompignan, Marmontel, Boufflers, Parny. There is also a treatise on punctuation ; a dic-

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tionary of mythology and iconology, a dictionary of biography, a dictionary of universal geography, a dictionary of Latin quotations occurring at the bar, in newspapers and diplomatic correspondence, a chronological table of memorable events and discoveries from the creation of the world to 1810, the French republican calendar. As far as we can learn, the dictionary probably had much less vogue than the method. It shares with it the quality which seems to have been a part of Dufief's character, the effort to accomplish wonders in a small compass. It is certainly the most pretentious and the least valuable of his works.

It seems rather improbable that many of the ideas embodied in his work came to him by inspiration as he tells us. He no doubt was successful in learning English at Princeton without grammar books. Everyone acknowledges that the very best means of learning a language is to be isolated with people who cannot speak one's own. Then we can easily imagine this eager and intelligent young man whose education had been cut short by the revolution in France becoming acquainted in academic surroundings at Princeton with all the thought of the eighteenth century. One can almost share his emotion when he learned that these thinkers believed that grammar was an accessory and not a principle of language and when he could say to himself, « I know that this is true because I myself learned English without a grammar ».

The number of editions and the general mention of his book proves that it enjoyed great vogue for at least thirty years. But we are unable to follow his movements in detail or to know when he left the United States for England, where he died in 1834, as noted above. It is one of the injustices of history that Dufief should have been forgotten by the students and theorists who have produced the « Direct Methods » of today. Precursors cannot be expected to attain perfection ; nor, indeed has any method of teaching language yet attained it ; but we

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have in him an eager and earnest disciple of eighteenth century « natural » principles who was not content with abstract ideas but tried to practice them. That he often failed to keep to them and that his development of them seems impractical and a little amusing to our modern sense of superiority does not detract from the worth of the man who first departed from dead language methods and taught the living phrases of a living language.

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APPENDIX

A series of quotations which Dufief has culled from his authorities in defense of his principles and which he used in title pages, chapter headings and notes will be of interest as showing his ability to seize upon every definite idea which might be put into practice. He rarely gives the reference for his quotations, but they make an interesting collection of *Pensées choisies* on the subject.

Montaigne : « La plupart des occasions des troubles du monde sont grammairiens. Nos procès ne naissent que du débat de l'interprétation des lois et la plupart des guerres de cette impuissance de n'avoir su clairement exprimer les convocations et traités d'accord des Princes. Combien de querelles et combien importantes a produit au monde le doute du sens de cette syllabe *hoc* ».

Condillac : « La version interlinéaire, imaginée par M. du Marsais est sans doute la meilleure méthode pour enseigner une langue. C'est précisément la méthode que suit un enfant qui apprend la langue de ses pères ».

Jefferson : « You will render a great service if you can abridge the acquisition of a new language; it would greatly facilitate our progress in science if one could shorten the time necessary for learning the language in which it is deposited. »

Locke : « A man who does not speak English or Latin by rote without thought of rule or grammar, does not speak them well and is not master of them. Languages were made not by rules or art but by accident... and he that will speak them well has no other rule but that,

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nor anything to trust to but his memory and the habit of speaking after the fashion learned from those that are allowed to speak properly ».

Sicard : « Metaphysic being the knowledge of abstractions and generalizations it is impossible without it to advance a single step in the science of grammar and of language. Grammar is disgraced when reduced to mere grammar without logic and metaphysics ».

D'Alembert : « Would you acquire a language speedily and you are possessed of memory, get a dictionary by heart if you can and read a great deal ».

Horne Tooke : « Truth in my opinion has been improperly imagined at the bottom of a well. It is much nearer the surface, although buried indeed at present under mountains of learned rubbish ».

Condillac : « We cannot, for instance, investigate the art of speaking without bestowing our attention on the peculiar terms of expression which custom establishes ».

La Harpe : « It is unreasonable to teach the arts of language to a child who has not acquired from *Custom* those turns of expression adapted to the language ».

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INDEX

Abeille américaine, 21.
Agricultural Society of Maryland, 54.
Aigleville (Alabama), 21, 23.
Alembert (D'), 59, 67, 71.
American Philosophical Society, 34, 59.

Bacon, 59.
Baltimore College, 32, 37, 42, 43, 47, 55.
Barbier, 48.
Barry (Dr), 37, 38.
Barthélémy (Abbé), 2.
Beauzée, 67.
Bentalow (Col.), 54.
Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, 2, 59.
Bernis, 67.
Besseloire, 60.
Beuchot, 48.
Blair, 67.
Boccaccio, 43.
Boileau, 67.
Bonapartists, 20, 21.
Bossler, 4.
Botta (Carlo Giuseppe Guglielmo), 22, 24, 33, 41.
Boufflers, 67.
Boyer, 67.
Brunet, 28, 48.
Buffon, 27.
Burk's History of Virginia, 9, 11-19, 49, 53.
Burr's Conspiracy, 40.

Cabell (Joseph), 20.
Cairon (Marquis de), 3.
Carr (Dabney), 10.
Carr (Peter), 16.
Carroll (Archbishop), 3.
Casti (*Animali Parlanti*), 2.
Chambord, 63.
Charlottesville (British prisoners), 17.
Chateaubriand, 28.
Chaudron (Simon), 21, 12, 23.
Chinard, (G.), 17 n., 61.
Chouans, 2.
Clarke's expedition, 9.
Cobbett, 67.
Colbertismo, 11, 6.
Condillac, 59, 61, 62, 70, 71.
Cooper (Judge), 38.
Corneille, 67.
Croiseuil (Jean-Henri de), 4.
Cuvier, 20.

Debuse, 28, 48.
Delille, 67.
Descamps (J.-B.), 25, 28.
Desfontaines, 20.
Dibdin, 48.
Dictionnaire raisonné et Bibliographique, 48.
Dorat, 67.
Ducatel (J.-T.), 2, 6, 44, 51.
Dumarsais, 59, 70.
Dunmore (L.), 15.
Duponceau (Peter), 34, 36.

Eppes, 25.
Euclid, 63.

Fauquier (Governor), 10.
Franklin, 34, 35.
Fuller (B.), 39, 41.

Gallet, 60.
Georgetown College, 3.
Girard, 67.
Goldsmith, 2.

Digitized by Google

Gresset (M. de), 27.
Guigan, 43.

Hale (I.-E.), 34.
Hampden and Sidney College, 38.
Hargous (L.), 66.
Helvétius, 20, 62.
Henry (M.), 11 sq.
Holy Alliance, 52.

Imlay's History of Kentucky, 10.

Jaucourt, 67.
Jefferson (References to), 1, 4, 5, 8, 9 17 n., 46, 55, 60, 61, 62, 70.
Jefferson (Letters to), 5, 20, 21, 23, 26, 33, 39, 42, 45, 46, 50, 51.
Jefferson (Letters from), 9, 11, 16, 24, 25, 28, 31, 41, 49.
Johnson (Judge), 51.
Journal de Physique, 20.

Knox (Rev. James), 32.

Lacépède, 27.
Lafayette, 50, 51, 52, 53.
La Fontaine, 7.
La Harpe, 71.
La Métherie, 20.
Latreille, 27.
Leslie (Prof.), 38, 39.
Lévizac, 63.
Lexington College, 38.
Library of Congress, 46, 48, 53.
Locke, 59, 61, 63, 70.
Louis XVIII, 57, 58.

Madeleine (Philippon de la), 2.
Marmontel, 67.
Marshall (John), 18.
Maryland Academy of Science and Literature, 44, 55.
Mengotte, 5.
Merry (Mrs.), 66.
Milligan, 7.
Monroe, 50.
Montaigne, 61, 62, 70.
Moreau (M^me^), 66.
Munford, 18.

Nain Jaune, 21.
Napoléon, 20.
Nature Displayed, 50, 60.
Nugen, 67.

Old Bachelor, 7.
Orsay (Comte d'), 38.
Otis (G.-A.), 33.

Palmer (H.-E.), 62.
Parny, 67.
Peale (Charles-Wilson), 44, 45.
Peignot (Manuel du Bibliophile), 48.
Pennsylvania (University of), 59.
Pernier, 63.
Perry, 67.
Pestalozzi, 28.
Philips (General), 17.
Philips (Josiah), 9, 11 sq.
Picot (Louis-François), 2.
Pompignon (Lefranc de), 67.
Priestly (James), 32.
Princeton College, 58.
Prozy, 67.
Puisaye (comte de), 2.
Pulaski, 51, 54.

Racine, 67.
Randolph (Col.), 50, 54.
Randolph (Edmund), 20 sq.
Randolph (Helen), 44.
Randolph (Mrs), 44.
Rawle (Wm.), 59, 60.
Reibelt, 5.
Revue Encyclopédique, 49.
Richmond Enquirer, 6.
Ritchie, 6.
Revolutionary Annals of France, 4.
Roubard, 67.
Rousseau, 67.
Ruperti (*Juvenal*), 27.

St. John's College, 32.
St. Mary's College, 32.
Saint-Réal (Abbé de), 40.
Sicard, 61, 63, 71.
Smith (D^r^), 10.
Sonini, 27, 28.
Spofford (H.-J.), 19.
Stack, 21.
Staunton Academy, 33.
Stewart, 38.

Télémaque, 65.
Tocquoit, 67.
Tombigbee, 23.
Torres (Don Manuel de), 66.
Tucker, 67.
Tucker (Judge), 11 sq.

Velasquez de la Cadena, 66.

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Virginia (University of), 25, 31, 44, 50, 54.
Voltaire, 67.

Watkins (Dr Tobias), 32, 37, 38, 43, 44.
Wildenow (*Species Plantorum*), 20.
William and Mary (College of, 4.
Wirt (Wm.), 7.
Worthington (W.-G.-D.), 50.
Wythe, 10.

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